THE RĀMĀYAṆA IN PAHARI MINIATURE PAINTING

L.D.INSTITUTE OF INDOLOGY AHMEDABAD 380 009

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THE RĀMĀYAṆA IN PAHARI MINIATURE PAINTING

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L. D. INSTITUTE OF INDOLOGY AHMEDABAD 380 009

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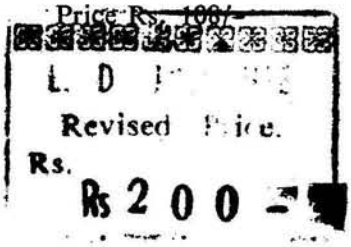

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FOREWORD

The L. D. Institute of Indology has great pleasure in publishing *The Rāmāyaṇa in Pahari Miniature Painting* by Dr. Jutta Jain-Neubauer. As the story of the Rāmāyaṇa has fascination for all the classes of Indian people, the study of the Rāmāyaṇa paintings along with their reproduction will surely have wider appeal. In all we have in this volume fourteen colour prints and forty nine black-and-white prints.

The text by Dr. Jain-Neubauer is illuminating. It evaluates Vālmkīi's Rāmāyaṇa, elucidates the three major types of Rāmāyaṇa miniatures, clearly points out the states and regions covered by Pahari area, enumerates stylistic features of Pahari painting, sympathetically takes note of the view that Pahari painting had its origin in the folk painting of the area, gives an interesting account of Rāma-worship in those regions and elaborately deals with the Rāmāyaṇa Series of ca. 1720, so-called 'Seige of Laṅkā' Series and their stylistic features and relationship. The text is followed by a descriptive catalogue of the three series, the third being from the Museum of Indian Art, West Berlin.

We extend our heartfelt thanks to Dr. Jutta Jain-Neubauer for allowing us to include her work in our L. D. Series. We are extremely grateful to the authority of various museums for giving us permission to reproduce the pictures and thus extending their kind cooperation in the publication of this book. Our thanks are also due to Shri Bhupendrabhai Thakore of Creative Printers Pvt. Ltd. for the excellent and prompt printing.

It is hoped that lovers of Indian Art will welcome this publication.

L. D. Institute of Indology,
Ahmedabad-380 009.
1-3-1981.

Nagin J. Shah
Director

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE

The idea for this book was conceived during a lecture-series that Prof. Dr. B. N. Goswamy gave on Pahari Miniature Painting at the South Asia Institute of Heidelberg University. During this fascinating lecture-series, wherein a lot of new material was introduced, The Rāmāyaṇa theme evolved as a subject for a possible comparative study.

Professor Goswamy suggested to have a closer look into the relationship of two specific series which at the first sight seemed to have a close link with each other. This book deals with these two series, i. e. a Basohli Rāmāyaṇa of ca. A. D. 1720 and the so-called 'Siege of Laṅkā' series. Most of the leaves that might have once belonged to these series, now preserved in various collections throughout the world, are discussed here with their stylistic peculiarities, their relationship to each other and their place within Pahari miniature painting. A catalogue of three major Rāmāyaṇa series, including the above two and a series from the Museum of Indian Art, West Berlin, with brief descriptions of each leaf is attached.

I am grateful to Professor Goswamy (Chandigarh) and Mrs. Dr. Anna L. Dallapiccola (Heidelberg) for their suggestions and guidance during my studies.

I am also thankful to Shri Chinubhai Sheth, Shri Shrenik Kasturbhai, Shri Dalsukh Malvania, Shri U. P. Shah, Shri Nagin J. Shah for taking up this book for publication under the L. D. Institute Series.

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THE RĀMĀYAṆA IN PAHARI MINIATURE PAINTING

This book is devoted to the Rāmāyaṇa theme as rendered in miniature painting. Its emphasis is on the major Rāmāyaṇa miniature series that have originated in the Pahari area, the mountain region in the north-western corner of India. Some Rāmāyaṇa series of other regions in India have been mentioned for the sake of comparison.

The Rāmāyaṇa

The Rāmāyaṇa, ' the Story of Prince Rāma', is like the Mahābhārata one of the two great classical Indian epics. Ever since its creation, the Rāmāyaṇa has been the most popular theme for narration, dramatic plays, folk perfomances, literary renderings and illustrations. The composition, in its original form, is ascribed to the poet-sage Vālmīki, (ca. 3rd cent. B. C) believed to have lived in the region Kośala in Eastern India.[1] Although Vālmīki is considered to be the *ādikavi*, the 'first, or foremost poet' of the classical Sanskrit literature, he certainly did not invent the story of Rāma. He compiled the legends and ballads that had been narrated by bards and minstrels for ages, and formed one uniform heroic poem. It is believed that the original Rāmāyaṇa was composed by Vālmikī in the third century B. C. in the Sanskrit language which at that time might not have been a living language anymore, as the use of local dialects for Buddhist and Jaina teachings show. But Sanskrit was always the language for literature and poetry and was well understood by the majority of the people. Vālmīki's poem was surely not written down at that early stage. It was transmitted through oral tradition by bards and singers who had memorised its contents. They however, used it freely and introduced additional verses of their own creations and elaborated incidents that appealed to the audiences, like the humoristic deeds of the monkey-hero Hanumāna, the didactic or religious portions, and the romantic descriptions of Sītā and Rāma's love for each other and the beauty of the landscape around Laṅkā. Slowly the poem grew in size and took the shape of *the* grand epic called Rāmāyaṇa. It is believed that the present form and content of the Rāmāyaṇa were finalised towards the end of the second century A. D. Three different recensions of the text have come down to us. They have had their origins in the north-western, eastern and southern regions of India.[2] These texts, although showing considerable differences in style, language and contents, have been edited as one standard critical edition of the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki.

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This Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa contains 24.000 double-verses and is divided into seven *kāṇḍa*, books or chapters. These describe I. the boyhood of Prince Rāma, son of King Daśaratha of Ayodhyā (*bālakāṇḍa*, 'the book of childhood'), II. the events at the court of Ayodhyā *(ayodhyākāṇḍa*, 'the book of Ayodhyā' *)*, III. Rāma's life in the forest-exile together with his brother Lakṣmaṇa and his wife Sītā (*araṇyakāṇḍa*, 'the book of the forest'), IV. the alliance of Rāma with the monkey chiefs in Kiṣkindha (*kiṣkindhākāṇḍa*, 'the book of kiṣkindha'), V. the search for Sītā, who had been abducted by the demon king Rāvaṇa, by the monkey army in various regions with beautiful landscapes (*sundarakāṇḍa*, 'the book of beauty'), VI. the battle between Rāma and Rāvaṇa (*yuddhakāṇḍa*, 'the book of the battle'), and VII. Rāma's rejection of Sītā and the growing up of her twin sons Lava and Kuśa in a hermitage, and many myths and legends (*uttarakāṇḍa*, ' the last book'). It is clear that the books I and VII did not belong to the original gist of Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa, but were added later to the work. They display internal contradictions and are inferior in style and language, to the remaining books, II to VI which display a certain uniformity and fluency of style throughout.[3]

Vālmīki depicts Rāma as a brave hero, a lawful prince, and a devoted husband, son and brother. In his feelings of love and sorrow, and his attitudes and dealings, he acts more like a human hero, though endowed with a divine character. He is not yet conceived as an *avatāra*, an incarnation of Viṣṇu as in later mythology. Only in the later centuries, after the establishment of the *bhakti* cult, the cult of personal devotion to a god, did Rāma receive an entirely godly nature as the eighth *avatāra* of Viṣṇu. Vālmīki describes the deeds of Rāma with much feeling and involvement, but as a mere narrator and observer from outside. The later *bhakti* poets, like Tulasīdāsa or Kamban, wrote their versions of the Rāmāyaṇa as true devotees of Rāma. In this light it is important to note that all the Rāmāyaṇa miniatures that have come down to our days, are creations of later centuries, when *bhakti* cult was already widespread all over India. Most of Rāmāyaṇa miniatures, therefore, reflect, often in a subtle and delicate way, the ideas of a personal devotion to Rāma.

The Rāmāyaṇa soon became very popular all over India and with all classes of the people. Its popularity and appeal lie in the richness of themes and teachings

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included in the epic. Narrative passages, moralistic teachings, religious doctrines, love scenes, lyrical portions and dramatic and heroic elaborations, each in turn were enjoyed by the different people. Innumerable later poets, realising the magnificence of this theme, worked upon the epic, imitated or differentiated portions of it and brought out their own versions, often in a vernacular language suitable to the audiences in their respective areas.

The group of Rāmāyaṇa miniatures could be divided into three major types : a. those based on the Sanskritic epic by Vālmīki, b. those based on later versions of the Rāmāyaṇa, like Tulasīdāsa's Rāmacaritamānasa (Ca. AD. 1575), Kamban's Rāmāyaṇa, or a translation into Persian during and after the Mughal times, and c. those that are illustrations of local and folkish versions of the Rāma story. The Rāmāyaṇa miniatures of the first type could be included as part of the socalled 'high', Sanskritic tradition, to which also the texts belongs. These miniatures are usually done under royal or feudal patronage by master-artists in collaboration with a *paṇḍit*, a traditional scholar of the scriptures. The painter, who was not always well-versed in the classical scriptures, rendered the visual aspects of the textual scenes often in his own individual ways. A typical example is the series in a Basohli style of Pahari painting dated to ca. A.D. 1720 which will be discussed later.

The second type of Rāmāyaṇa illustrations probably form the majority in this classification. In this type diverse series from various regions and periods are grouped together. A complete series of a Rāmāyaṇa in Persian language from northern India commissioned in Moghul times, a set of about 14 miniatures in a Pahari style of painting based on Tulasīdāsa's text in Berlin, a complete book based on the same text written both in Hindi and Urdu in a late Rajasthani style in the collection of L. D. Institute of Indology, these are but a few examples. Many more series, which all belong to the large variety of derivations of the Sanskritic version of Vālmīki's text, could be named in this category. It is known that the emperor Akbar was fascinated by the wealth of the Hindu epics. He ordered their translation into Persian that he could derive the benefit of reading them. Not all his officials shared his enthusiasm for the traditional Indian texts. The account of Badaoni bears witness to this :

"In this year the Emperor commanded me to make a translation of the

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> Ramayana, which is a superior composition to the Mahabharata. ... The story is about Ram Chand Rajah of Oudh, whom they also call Ram. And the Hindus pay him worship as a god in human form. ... And there are many contradictory idle tales like this, which the intellect is at loss whether to accept or reject. ... Hence it is evident that these events are not true at all, and are nothing but pure invention, and simple imagination, like the Shahnamah, and the stories of Amir Hamzah, or else it must have happened in the time of the dominion of the beasts and the jinns-but God alone knows the truth of the matter." [4]

This note in his diary Muntakhabu-t-Tawarikh indicates that Badaoni, basically a historian and searcher for facts and truth, was rather displeased with the task assigned to him to translate the Indian texts into the Persian language. Emperor Akbar had also commissioned the illustration of this Persian translation of the Rāmāyaṇa but the pages of this have been lost. A copy of these is believed to be kept in the Freer Gallery, which is a complete manuscript with more than 350 pages and 135 illustrations. Illustrations to the Rāmacaritamānasa of poet Tulasīdāsa are found in the Museum fur Indische Kunst, Berlin (West Germany) as some inscriptions on the reverse of the miniatures indicate. Although these fourteen miniatures have been executed in the rather late style of Pahari painting during the 19th century. often with a stale impression, one can perceive, in some of the miniatures, the impact of *bhakti,* for example in the scenes depicting the slaying of Rāvaṇa and Sītā's fire ordeal.

The Rāmāyaṇa miniatures of the third type are based on local stories of themes connected with the Rāma legend. These legends and stories form the local oral tradition that prevailed simultaneously with the 'high' Sanskritic or classical one. The illustrations for the Rāma legend of this type were not necessarily painted by professional painters or on commission from a patron. Often the bards and storey-tellers themselves, who wandered from village to village to give their performances, created their own paintings. These paintings served as illustrative demonstrations to the audiences, while the bards were narrating the story. Whereas nowadays the bards have ceased to wander from place to place to perform their storey-telling sessions, a large number of their paintings, however, have survived and are evidences of their

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swift, imaginative and powerful style. Very interesting examples of this type are the paintings of the Citrakathi, the 'tellers of illustrated stories', from Maharashtra.

On Pahari painting

From a distant view it seems that the painters of the Pahari area were mainly engaged in illustrating themes connected with the Great Goddess, the Devī; episodes from the Kṛṣṇa legend; lyrical and romantic poems; and historical persons or incidents. However, the illustrations of the Rāmāyaṇa, too, played an equally important role in Pahari painting.

Under the term ' Pahari painting ' all the creations of the painters in the Pahari region are grouped together. They belong to the extensive school of Rajput painting, because all the Pahari states were ruled to a major part by Rajput clans, as it was also the case in large areas of Rajasthan, Gujarat and Central India.

The Pahari area (i. e. 'the mountain area '), also called Punjab Hills or Hill States, is situated in the north-western corner of Nothern India, adjoining the Panjab and Gangetic plains in the South and the Himalayan mountains in the North. Formerly there were about 34 Pahari kingdoms of more or less importance. The one noted for fine art activities and of art-historical interest were Basohli, Jammu, Guler, Nurpur, Chamba, Kulu, Kangra, Mandi, and Garhwal, for example. None of these states rose to the level of supra–regional powers, but the kings, even of the smaller states, were often patrons and lovers of art, sophisticated in their taste and appreciation. Many of the kings employed master artists in their royal ateliers. The creations of art in many of these states are exceptionally fine in spirit and execution. The styles found in Pahari painting range from wild and striking illustrations distinguished by a lack of naturalism, distortion of faces and a religious significance similar to that of metal icons, to extremely delicate, charming and naturalistic renderings of romantic, mythological and historical themes.

Ananda K. Coomaraswamy was the first scholar to discover this school of Rajput paintings in the North–West and to realise that it had existed independently of other Rajput schools of Rajasthan and Central India. He classified the Pahari miniatures into two groups, the Southern group around the area of Kangra-Garhwal

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displaying mainly a lyrical atmosphere and softness of toning and outline; and secondly the northern group of 'Jammu' with a more coarse and wild style.[5] Based upon this first rough classification consequently more systematic inquieries into the distinguishing features of each style have been prepared subsequently.

The earliest documents of Pahari painting that came to light could be dated to the early 17th century.[6] There are various theories about the origins of Pahari miniature painting. One view is that Pahari painting, which is to be considered as courtly or royal art, most probably had its beginnings in the folk paintings of that area. Folk art is part of the daily life and needs of the villages. The producers themselves do not regard their creations as 'high art', because they prepare them as objects of daily use and make them anew whenever there is a demand for them. Although no testimonies of early folk paintings of this area have come down to us as yet, a few examples of wood and stone carving throw some light on a relationship between these and the later miniature paintings. A closeness can be observed in the style of miniatures and the carvings of the temple in the Nurpur Fort, the temple of Ardhanārīśvara at Mandi and of a stone-stele with the depiction of a royal hero from Bilaspur.[7]

The painters, who were experts in their artistic crafts, belonged, like most other craftsman in traditional India, to a rather low social strata. Abul Fazl-i-Allami's quotation in his encyclopaedic work Ain-i-Akbari might throw light on the general view on craftsmen that existed in that period:

> "The sudra is incapable of any other privilege than to serve these three castes, ...He may be a painter, goldsmith, carpenter, and trade in salt, honey milk, buttermilk, clarified butter and grain."

Rarely the painters were educated in a formal manner by classical scriptures like the other higher castes. The craftsmen and painters gained their knowledge and skills from their elders as a matter of tradition. When the painters were commissioned to illustrate religious and mythological text, they usually worked in collaboration with a *paṇḍit*, the scholar of traditional learning. The *paṇḍit* would explain the text, which was to be illustrated, to the painter. The colophon of the Rāmāyaṇa series by painter Ranjha of A. D. 1816 (in Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi) makes it clear what kind of relation had existed between the *paṇḍit* and the painter :

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"In the Vikrama Samvat calcutated by Rama (3), Rishi (7), Vasu (8), and Bhu (1), (i. e. 1873—A. D. 1816), in the dark half of the month of Sravana, on Wednesday the 7th:

In the town of Basohli, during the reign of Shri Raja Bhupendra Pal, the learned Sudarsan, born in the family of Kashmiri (Brahmins), composed, according to his best understanding, this basha of the (Valmiki) Ramayana for being visually rendered into paintings. He composed this basha for the artist Ranjha who gave visual form to the verses. This rendering of the katha of the Ramayana is blessed by Rama himself: it enables all to cross the world of misery, and absolves them of a multitude of sins. May (this basha) be conducive to the prosperity, happiness, long life and well being of the whole world."[9]

The religious background

The religious activity in some Pahari royal courts was often dominated by the worship of Rāma. Historical sources which describe Pahari rulers as ardent worshippers of Rāma, numerous miniatures depicting Rāma as a glorious prince and idol for worship, and several portraits of kings shown in worship of Rāma, are lucid examples of this. The illustrations of the Rāmāyaṇa also served as a form of devotional reverence to Rāma.

A short allusion to the Rāma worship in the Pahari Hills will not be out of place here. It will help us see in what religious atmosphere the Rāmāyaṇa miniatures were created. Pahari miniatures originated in a royal culture and were produced through the interest, initiative and patronage of kings and courtiers. The king did often not follow the local beliefs and religious practices, but worshiped gods of a seemingly higher rank, like Rāma or Kṛṣṇa. It is to be noted that the worship of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa came up rather late in the Pahari region. It was introduced through the personal enthusiasm of some hill *rājas* in the Vaiṣṇava *bhakti* cult which had been prevailing in the northern plains already for some centuries. When the *rājās* of the hill states had established themselves in their kingdoms (around the 15/16th centuries) and had come into more close contact with the plains, their interest in the new form of religion, based on *bhakti* ideas,

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increased and they brought these new ideas into their home states. However, it was not only through the royal courts that the Vaiṣṇava *bhakti* movement spread to the hill states. Many Vaiṣṇava ascetics from the plains went to the hills and propagated their ideas. Among them Bhagwanji and his disciple Narayanji were very famous and have often been portrayed in Pahari miniatures.[10]

From literature and painting it is clear that at several Pahari courts Rāma, the seventh incarnation of Viṣṇu, was worshipped ardently. In the *bhakti* cult, Rāma was depicted as the incarnation of a true, morally straightforward and lawful ruler, whereas Kṛṣṇa was seen as the hero of romantic love and passion. Both these aspects had immediate appeal to the Rajput rulers of the Pahari states. They reflected ideals of chivalry, bravery and truthfulness on the one hand and sensuous feelings and love on the other, both of which form significant aspects throughout the Rajput culture. Several Pahari rulers introduced Rāma as the official god of the state and often made their personal religion the official religion of their court and state. It is said that Jagat Singh of Kulu (A. D. 1637-1672), a smaller state in the interior parts of the hills, was responsible for introducing the Vaiṣṇava religion into Kulu.[11] He placed an idol of Raghunātha (a form of Rāma) which was brought from Ayodhyā in his newly built temple of Sultanpur. Because of the installation of the idol, Raghunātha became the ruler over Kulu. He also introduced the Dussehra festival in Kulu[12], which is the celebration of Rāma's victory over Rāvaṇa. One of his successors, Raja Jai Singh of Kulu (A. D. 1731-1742), gave up his royal status and transferred it to his younger brother Tedhi Singh, so that he was free to go on a pilgrimage to the holly Vaiṣṇava centres in Oudh and end his life in complete devotion to this *iṣṭa-devatā* (god of one's selection) Rāma[13]. In Mandi, the ruler Suraj Sen (A. D. 1637-1664) abdicated his throne in favour of god Madho Rai (Kṛṣṇa as fluteplayer) and transferred the state rule to this god. This could however, be interpreted as an act of despair as all his 18 sons had died during his lifetime and there was no heir to the throne [14]. In the State Chamba the stone idol of Raghubir became the object of worship of the royal family, but the state was not put under the rule of the deity as was the case in Kulu and Mandi[15]. The initiative was taken by Prithvi Singh of Chamba who brought this stone idol of Raghubir from Delhi in the year 1645. This stone idol which had earlier served as a weighing stone, was given to him by Shah Jahan[16].

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Some rulers of Pahari hill states are shown in miniatures as worshippers of Rāma or Kṛṣṇa. One miniature[17] shows Raja Chattar Singh, son of Prithvi Singh, of Chamba (A. D. 1664-1690) with his attendent on his way to a Rāma shrine, Rāma and Sītā are depicted in a small niche in the middle of the shrine, whereas Hanumāna worshipping the divine couple in *añjalī mudrā* occupies a niche to the left. Miniatures depicting this new form of religiosity are quite eommon in Pahari miniature painting. They are not illustrative to any legend or story. They are devotional paintings for worship and they depict Rāma and Kṛṣṇa respectively as deity and not as hero of any story. Miniatures of this kind show either the divine couple Rāma and Sītā being worshipped by Lakṣmaṇa, or Hanumāna and other mokey–leaders. Of similar religious importance are miniatures depicting Rāma as a glorious prince. There are many examples from Kulu, Mandi, Chamba and Mankoṭ. One miniature from Kulu[18] dated A. D. 1720-1730 shows Rāma sitting on an impressive throne with his left foot on a ronnd carpet made of pinkish white lotus-petals and his right leg drawn upwards. Sītā is standing next to him and looking down on her husband in a devotional glance. Lakṣmaṇa in a yellow long dress is standing on the opposite side and holding *cāmara,* a fly whisk. In the following centuries this theme gained popularity all over the various schools of Pahari miniatures painting. These miniatuaes depict in a glorious way Rāma and his court, or Rāma returning home from the exile in the woods as *yuvarāja,* the crown-prince. In Kangra and Mandi especially this theme of miniature painting seemed to have been very popular in the 19th century. A miniature from Mandi[19] shows Rāma, with a shining halo, riding a horse and all his three brothers honouring him in *añjalī mudrā,* while a hoard of monkeys and bears like Jambuvān are standing worshipful in front of Rāma.

These miniatures were not intended as illustrations to the Rāma–legend, but were meant for worship. Their significance is similar to that of an icon, basically a religious object of worship. Miniature series illustrating the Rāmāyaṇa, however were created only to some extent for a religious purpose. They also served as a means of instruction and entertainment to the onlookers. In traditional India miniatures were never displayed openly in a house or hall. They were kept concealed in wooden chests or boxes, wrapped in cloth. Only on special occasions they were disclosed and opened to the eyes of connoisseurs, when either the householder had

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the intention of sharing the beauty of his miniatures with a guest or when the ladies of the house sat together and enjoyed a story-telling session by looking at the illustrations.

Though the worship of Rāma was the official form of religion in some Pahari states, the religious beliefs on the rural level were hardly changed by the introduction of the new religious ideas centering around the worship of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa. Goddess Hiḍimbā[20], for example, remained to be the patron deity of the Kulu valley, although the worship of Rāma was introduced officially at the royal court. Also in Nurpur, where the Vaiṣṇava cult was introduced officially, *nāga,* the snake-gods, remained to be the *kula-devatā,* the family gods, of the Pathania rulers of Nurpur[21]. The consequence in the course of time was the intermingling of the various prevailing cults and the new ones, as can be seen from an illustration in the Chandigarh Museum. This miniature shows Rāma and Sītā being worshipped by Rāma's brother and Hanuman. In front of the throne, however, lies a tiger which is usually the *vōhana,* the vehicle, of the Devī, the Goddess. The worship of the Devī remained the more dominant part of religion in the villages and was not suppressed by the new beliefs of the royal court.[22].

The Rāmāyaṇa Series in Pahari painting.

In his catalogue of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, A.K. Coomaraswamy listed eleven miniatures of unusual size depicting scenes from the Rāmāyaṇa which he attributed to the 'Siege of Laṅkā' sequence of the Rāmāyaṇa. He obviously marked that they belonged to the *yuddhakāṇḍa,* or book of battle of the Rāmāyaṇa[23]. These miniatures are remarkably large in size (of about 55 cm by 80 cm), but also magnificent in quality and workmanship. The Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay has a collection of drawings of the Rāmāyaṇa theme which are again of the same size as the 'Siege of Laṅkā' leaves. Not only in size, but also in the drawing of the outline and the composition of the pictures and the fineness of execution these drawings have a striking resemblance to the Boston miniatures. Both the sets, therefore, seem to have originated from the same area.

In various other museums and private collectons in Europe and the USA there are scattered leaves of this seemingly extensive Rāmāyaṇa series. An investigation has

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revealed a total number of 40 miniatures belonging to this mentioned Rāmāyaṇa series.

There is another interesting series of Rāmāyaṇa leaves which is not yet known much. This series has a close resemblance to style of painter Manaku. He is believed to have descended from Guler and to have lived in the area of Basohli in the early part of the 18th century. The most famous and important piece of work by this painter is the Gīta Govinda series in a Basohli style. It has a colophon with the date corresponding to A.D. 1730 and mentions the name Manaku who is believed to be the executing painter. Due to its detailed colophon this Gīta Govinda series has attained a key position in comparing and dating other works of a similar style. Through stylistic and comparative analysis with the Gīta Govinda, the latter Rāmāyaṇa series has been given the date of ca. A.D. 1720, i.e. about a decade earlier than the Gīta Govinda set [24].

It is interesting to note that the Rāmāyaṇa series of ca. A.D. 1720 illustrates only the third chapter of the Rāmāyaṇa, the *araṇyakāṇḍa,* which narrates the events of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā in the forest. Recently nine leaves depicting scenes from the *sundarakāṇḍa,* the fifth book narrating the search of Rāma and his monkey-companions for Sītā, came to light. In style, format and the type of the script in the inscriptions these leaves come very close to the leaves of the *araṇyakāṇḍa.* The leaves of the 'Siege of Laṅkā' series, however, are illustrations to the sixth book, the *yuddhakāṇḍa,* narrating the battle between the armies of Rāma and Rāvaṇa. Both these series are rather similar in theme, concept, colour-scheme, style, drafting of the figures and narrative details.

The Rāmāyaṇa Series of ca. 1720

The Rāmāyaṇa series of ca. A.D. 1720 and the Gīta Govinda series play an important role in Pahari Painting, as they show the development of a specific style, the style of Basohli painting, within a period of about ten to fifteen years. They reveal, how Pahari painting has been influenced by the paintings from Northern India and the Moghul court[24]. One can observe in the sequence of these and other related series a slowly increasing tendency towards more naturalism in the figures, in the expression of the faces and in the realistic depiction of the landscape.

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. About 20 leaves of this Rāmāyaṇa series have come to light so far. They are located in various Museums, like the Lahore Museum, Chandigarh Museum and Rietberg Museum (Zurich).

The similarities of this series with the Gīta Govinda dated A.D. 1730 are its horizontal format (measuring 22 cm by 32 cm approximately with border and 17.5 cm by 27.2 cm approximately without border), the thick shining, dark-red border, the colour-scheme, the composition of the pictures, the iconography of Rāma or Kṛṣṇa, and Sītā or Rādhā and the *gopī*, the flowering and sprouting trees and the landscape. Also the high horizon with the small line of white clouds over a thin line of blue sky, sometimes dramatically emphasized with curly and coloured clouds is a common feature in both the series. But inspite of the remarkable common point, the stages of development can be discerned in some refined details, like the treatment of the trees and the tendency in the Gīta Govinda series to shading and soft expressions in the faces[25].

Parts of this Rāmāyaṇa series were formerly kept in the Central museum (Lahore). After the partition, the whole collection of this Museum was divided, and twelve leaves of this Rāmāyaṇa series came to Chandigarh, whereas fifteen leaves remained in the Central Museum (Lahore). The nine leaves of the Rietberg Museum (Zurich) were acquired recently form a dealer who is said to have bought these miniatures in Kabul, Afghanistan. The Jagdish and Kamla Mittal Museum of Arts (Hyderabad) has, in its collection, a Rāmāyaṇa miniature in a Basohli style dated to about 1720-30. The measurements of this leaf are about the same as those of the other leaves of this Rāmāyaṇa series (being 20 cm by 31 cm with border and 16.1 cm by 26.9 cm without border). Also some stylistic details, like the dark red shining border, the idiom of the rocky hills, the trees in form of pyramidal bulks of leaves with white flower-bunches, the depiction of water in wavy lines, the individual plants and bunches of grass dispersed all over the ground and the hills, are also quite similar. A slight divergence in style is found in the depiction of the monkeys on the leaf from the Jagdish and Kamla Mittal collection. It looks as if the monkeys are wearing masks, tightly fitting to the body with just the small portion of the face open. Inspite of this divergence this miniature is kept within the sequence of Rāmāyaṇa leaves dealt with here.

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The most striking common feature throughout these leaves is the iconography of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa roaming around in the woods, (as all these leaves illustrate the *araṇya* and *sundarakāṇḍa*). Both the princes are dressed in a short skirt made out of leaves and a leafy hat with a small stalk on top. It looks as if the head is covered with a flower, plucked and kept upside-down. Hanumāna with his white body, darkish snout and alert-looking wide-open eyes has a three-pointed crown, ornamented bands on lower and upper arms and striped shorts. He has the same appearance throughout these Rāmāyaṇa leaves, sometimes as a companion and adviser to Rāma, and at other times as an active adventurer on his own. The peculiar shape of the hills, shown as high vertical fingertiplike clusters covered with tiny bundles of grass, seem to have originated from a similar creative source. There is one Rāmāyaṇa leaf in the Cleveland Museum of art (Cleveland) which is similar in its details. But the eyes of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Hanumāna are longish and thin in shape. The expression in the face of Hanumāna and the depiction of hills display some Mankot-like features. So the attribution of this miniature to the Rāmāyaṇa of ca. 1720 might be somewhat doubtful. On the other hand, the Mankot and Basohli courts were closely related through marriage ties. This could account for the Mankot influences on the Basohli style[26]. The figure of Hanumāna has slight resemblance to the mask-like depiction of the monkeys in the leaf from the Jagdish and Kamla Mittal collection. The individual plants and bunches of grass in the hills too, look very similar.

Due to its nearness in style with the Basohli Gīta Govinda, this Rāmāyaṇa series was most likely created in the area of Basohli. From the large scale of its production and the high quality of execution, we can assume that the illustrations were carried out by a royal atelier, under royal patronage. From its style, it could be established that the place of its production was probably the royal court of Basohli. The close connection between Guler and Basohli, which had existed earlier, became much more strong and obvious after the marriage-ties of the two rulers, Raja Govardhan Chand of Guler and Raja Medini Pal of Basohli who married each other's sister. As the atmosphere of the Vaiṣṇava *bhakti* cult was prominent in both the ruling house, it is most likely that there was a connection between this event of marriage and the completion of the Gīta Govinda set[27]. This probably explains some of the influences from the Guler style that appear in the Rāmāyaṇa of ca.

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1720 as well as the Gīta Govinda series. Another link to Guler is painter Manaku, whose name is mentioned in the Gīta Govinda colophon, and who is believed to have been a descendant of Guler, where his father, Pandit Seu, was active as a painter.

The place of production does not play that big a role in the formation of a specific style. The typical expressions that help to identify are more due to the individual or combined creative efforts of a painter and his colleagues. It is the hand of the painter, which does not escape the age-old traditions, that formulates the peculiarities of a style within a certain area. Location plays the part of background music, necessary for the composition of factors and softly felt, but not dominant. Alterations, new trends and departure from the convention happen because of the individuality of the painter or influences from outside. A very important factor in this respect is also the taste and likings of the patron who commissions a work of art. All these have their contributions in the creation of the peculiar idioms of a certain style.

W.G. Archer in his publication Indian Paintings of the Pahari Hills (1973) assigns this Rāmāyaṇa series of ca. 1720, of which three leaves are reproduced there, to the style of Nurpur. He admits that there are similarities in style between this Rāmāyaṇa series, the Gīta Govinda af 1730 and the 'Siege of Laṅkā' series[28]. K.Khandalavala sees a connection between the two series and puts the date of the Rāmāyaṇa, however, in the ruling years of Raja Jit Pal of Basohli (A.D. 1736–1756)[29] which might be slightly too late considering the more advanced state of the Gīta Govinda series which is dated A.D. 1730 by the colophon.

The 'Siege of Laṅkā' series.

Since A.K. Coomaraswamy's days this extensive Rāmāyaṇa series, generally attributed to the style of Guler, has been known as 'Siege of Laṅkā' series. In the successive literature this specifying name was kept and is used here also. A.K. Coomaraswamy might have conceived this name, because he could identify the leaves which he acquired from a dealer in Amritsar, as the illustrations to the episode of the 'Siege of Laṅkā' from the *yuddhakāṇḍa*, the 'Book of battle' of the Rāmāyaṇa. As a probable place of or origin he suggested Jammu in the Pahari

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Hill states[30]. A. Ghose later suggested Guler as the place of production. He had discovered that the miniatures bought by Coomaraswamy were originally from the collection of Raja Raghunath Singh of Guler (A.D. 1884–1920), a ruler of Guler[31]. Archer could verify in a conversation with the Raja's son Baldev Singh in the year 1954 that his father had sold those miniatures. He attributes this series to Guler, dated between A.D. 1725 and 1730[32].

How many pages of this series had originally existed, cannot be ascertained. Coomaraswamy had suggested a number between 50 and 100[33]. Here a series of 40 leaves, probably all belonging to this 'Siege of Laṅkā' series, from various Museums in India, Europe and America are presented and discussed. Following is the distribution of their locations :

Prince of Wales Museum (Bombay)	19	leaves
Museum of Fine Arts (Boston)	12	,,
Metropolitan Museum (New york)	4	,,
British Museum (London)	2	,,
Cleveland Museum of Art (Cleveland, Ohio)	1	leaf
Collection George Bickford (Cleveland, Ohio)	1	,,
Collection Howard Hodgkin (Chippenham, England)	1	,,

The leaves of this series are found in two stages of execution :

1. fully painted and finished miniatures (9 leaves) and partly painted, but unfinished miniatures (3 leaves),

2. black-and-white drawings which only show the motifs in black outline and are not painted at all (28 leaves). These form the larger group. The majority of them are in the Prince of Wales Museum (Bombay).

The leaves of this series are remarkably large in size. The whole miniature measures with border 53,5 cm in width and 80 cm in length. This fact caused Coomaraswamy to say that these miniatures might have been models for wall-paintings which needed only to be transferred from the paper to the wall[34]. Successive scholars mentioning this series adopted this view. J. C. French's words could be considered a standard statement in this connection that Indian miniatures

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of the Kangra style are small wall-paintings in comparison to Moghul miniatures.[35] Also Archer considers this view and mentions that "murals in the Punjab Hills are in general, only slightly enlarged miniatures". But he also points out that there are no parallel examples for such a case [36]. Within the lot of Pahari paintings there are quite a few examples of large size which are by no means connected with the idea of wall-painting. A statement which tries to refute J. C. French is that the leaves of the ' Siege of Laṅkā' series are very carefully drawn and finely executed. This would not have been the case, if they were mere models for wall-pai ntings.

The number of colours used in this series is limited; however, the painter did attain, with the use of only yellow, blue, green and a bit of red and white, a highly decorative effect in using shining and rather strong colours - and in their purest form and not in mixtures. In all earlier miniatures from the Pahari region this kind of colour-scheme is generally prevalent, especially in areas like Basohli, Kulu, Arki and early Guler. Another characteristic feature is the use of wide and extensive areas in one colour only, which dominates the picture. In this series an obvious preference for the warm, satiated yellow (called *peori*) can be discerned. It can be marked especially in early Basohli and Kulu paintings, for example the Rāmāyaṇa of ca. 1720 and the Shangri Rāmāyaṇa. This bright yellow colour is made from cow-urine by feeding with mango-leaves.[37] In the so-called Shangri Rāmāyaṇa from Kulu which is about a quarter of a century older than the Rāmāyaṇa dealt with here, this peculiar yellow is more profusely in use. This Rāmāyaṇa series derived its name from the village of Shangri in the Kulu valley, the seat of the royal family of Kulu in the 19th century. [38] This series which contained about 270 illustrations is one of the earliest documents of Kulu paintings and therefore of great importance. The style of these miniatures is wild, the colours powerful and provoking, the shining yellow or deep-red dominates as the background in nearly each leaf. The audaciousness with which the birth of the monkey-heroes from the goddesses is depicted (ill. 47) is a sign of the strong perception and brazen sense of creativity with which the painter or painters were equipped with. Liveliness and natural activity continued to be depicted in the following century in Kulu paintings, as seen in illustration no. 49 'Hanumān in Aśoka grove' of Laṅkā palace observing girls in a dance. In its soft atmosphere this picture comes

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more close to the leaves of the 'Siege of Laṅkā' servies.

The composition of a picture in the 'Siege of Laṅkā' series does not appear in many variations. The place of activity throughout the leaves is the same: the battle-field of Rāvaṇa's palace in Laṅkā. The painter tried to loosen the monotony through additions or variations of details, while the general composition remains the same, e. g. once the palace of Laṅkā is depicted as undefeatable castle, at other times as the richly equipped palace of a king.

Altogether the composition is simple : the stress lies on the partition of the leaf into two halves, one part of which is filled by architecture (mostly the palace of Laṅkā, or a temple), the other is reserved for the depiction of a scene. Often it is Mount Suvela with Rāma and his followers, or the palace -garden of Laṅkā with Sītā and the *rākṣasī*, or a field occupied by warriors. This partition into two does not apply to the miniatures depicting the actual battle between the two opposing armies.

An attempt to depict depth on a two-dimensional surface is made by placing pictorial details one on top of the other. The same feature appears in early miniatures of the Moghul style, most prominently in the leaves of the Hamzah Nama, Razm Nama or Akbar Nama. Of a related style and period, and more relevant for the comparison with the Rāmāyaṇa dealt with here, is a complete manuscript narrating and illustrating the story of Rāma in Persian language (ills. 50 to 53). It was prepared for the Khan-i-Khanan Abd Al-Rahim, the Grand Vizier of Akbar commissioned in the years between A.D. 1587/88, and completed in 1598/99[39]. This important manuscript, which contains 350 pages and 135 illustrations, is believed to be a copy of a Rāmāyaṇa manuscript that was made for Akbar[40], and is kept now in the Freer Gallery, Washington. The earliest known Indian miniatures – both the illustrations to the religious texts of the Jainas and the works of the Sultanate period – display a pure two-dimensionality in composition. In the bridging period between this early phase and the artistic traditions of the successive Rajasthani and Central Indian miniatures on the one hand and the works of the Moghul ateliers on the other, slowly a sense of volume and space evolved and the possibility of its realistic depiction on plain paper through perspective was discovered. In one illustration to the 'Cleveland Tutinama' of about A.D. 1565–70[41]

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the pavilion in its outer appearance already gives an allusion to depth, while the interior with the balcony of the princely lady looks, as though screened on paper. The Persian Rāmāyaṇa just mentioned is about 30 years later and is more successful in showing depth and space through a device which can be noticed in most illustrations of the Akbar period. The same device can be discerned in Pahari miniatures of more than hundred years later, for example the Rāmāyaṇa of ca. 1720 and the Gīta Govinda series in a Basohli style as in its early phase this style owes some features to Moghul miniatures. The device of creating volume on a two-dimensional plain is the depiction of a high wall on the lower border of the miniature, on top of which the scenery is placed. The painter is not concerned with the actual practicability of this scenery. The high wall (in the case of the Rāmāyaṇa the wall around the palace of Laṅkā or the surrounding wall of the Aśoka grove) does not prevent the view inside the courtyard, as in reality it would do. The events behind the walls are laid open to the spectators by showing the scene or scenes (sometimes two or three different plots) on top of the wall. This view from above into the inner courtyard can be very clearly seen in illustrations 24, 25, 26, 27, etc.

Perspective diminution is not used as a pictorial device in this series. The same feature can be observed throughout the early Indian miniature painting, for example early Malwa miniatures, in which rooms, houses, gardens, etc. are shown purely in architectural elevation, while the figures inside are depicted on the same plane, as if these were projected on a screen. The 'Shangri' Rāmāyaṇa of the early phase of Pahari painting shows this kind of easiness in rendering volume, although first steps in realizing distance and perspective can be noticed in illustration **47**. In the 'Siege of Laṅkā' series belonging to still an early phase but already pointing towards a transition, the lack of perspective conception is most obvious in the leaves depicting the battle. The fighters attacking in clusters or engaged in duels are piled up one on top of another, or next to each other, as the space would allow it. The intermediate free areas are filled with crowds of monkeys, horses, killed warriors and demons (see ills. 29, 37, 40, etc) There is no attempt at any spacial arrangement. It is simply a two-dimensional depiction of the manifold facets of the war.

In this series the persons and their costumes are of a remarkably careful and

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minute sketching. The active persons are the brothers Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, Rāma's consort Sītā, the leaders of the army Vibhīṣaṇa, Sugrīva and Hanumāna, the king of the demons Rāvaṇa, his son Indrajit and the numerous warriors of the monkey and demon army. The human heroes, Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Vibhīṣaṇa and Indrajit, and even Rāvaṇa are characterised by a strong, well-built body with protruding breast parts, clear-cut faces with enlarged, almond-shaped eyes. Their costumes are similar : a coat-like garment reaching below the knees with long sleeves, and a wide skirt with many plaits (*gherdār jāmā*). In the cases of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Vibhīṣaṇa, a chain-like texture is discernable on the garment alluding to their wearing of the protective warrior-west made of interwoven iron-chains. A long and broad cloth girdle with colourful embroidery on the ends, is wound around the waists, and high-reaching riding-boots protect the legs of the warriors. They all have towering triangular caps which are kept secure on the head by a narrow red band of cloth. The rather serious expressions on the faces of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa are due to their small mouths, thin lips, slightly recessing chins and dark black eyebrows of evenly curved semi-circle lines.

The leaders of the monkey-army, Hanumāna, Sugrīva, Aṅgada, and Nīla, wear short trousers, with a waist-band wrapped around the stomach. Often their heads are topped with richly decorated and jewelled crowns. The bear-leader Sugrīva has a black body and the glowing white ornaments contrasting well with it. The other three monkey-leaders have darkish snouts with a deep-cut line for their mouths and peculiar, wide-open and alert looking eyes, similar to those in the *araṇyakāṇḍa* leaves of the Rāmāyaṇa of ca. 1720.

Rāvaṇa, the king of the demons has a long *jāmā* on, like Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. This is, however, closed on the left side. His ten heads are arranged in a long horizontal row, one next to the other. They are kept together by a seven-pointed crown. In his numerous arms he is holding various weapons which are placed in a circle around his body giving the impression as if they are whirling around his body. The iconography of Rāvaṇa remains similar in the miniatures of the successive centuries in Pahari painting. The demon king Rāvaṇa in the Rāmāyaṇa series depicted by painter Ranjha in A. D. 1816 clearly displays a resemblance to the Rāvaṇa of the earlier series. Ranjha worked during the rule of Raja Bhupendrapal

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of Basohli and he is believed to have been the nephew of painter Manaku[42]. Not only the depiction of the figures, but also the conceivement of space and volume remained basically the same even a hundred years later.

Much care seems to have been taken in depicting the demons in the 'Siege of Laṅkā' series. It appears that all over the Pahari region the painters had a liking for these, as they figure quite often and in phantastic formations in Pahari painting. They appear in two types :

a. with round and flat human race, and

b. with animal-like snout-face.

All the demons have horns, numerous folds on their foreheads, cheeks and throats, large flapping ears, long claw-nails and sharply pointed tusks in the corners of their broad mouths which give always the impression that they are grinning mischieviously.

The palace of Laṅkā is depicted in two ways, as required by the setting. As fortification it has a high surrounding wall and numerous small windows for shooting arranged alternatively in various rows. As the palace of the king it is richly decorated with turrets, minaretts, roofed projections, pavilions, colourful carpets and manifold draped and heavy curtains. The smoothly curved cupola-roofs with their ends drawn down on the turrets and pavilions, generally called Bangaldar roofs in architecture, appear in earlier miniatures from Basohli and are probably depictions of monuments built by Islamic rulers in the Gangetic plain and Rajasthan.

All through the illustrations of the 'Siege of Laṅkā' series, the landscape is the Trikūṭa mountain with the mountain-top called Suvela, on which Rāma, his brother Lakṣmaṇa, his allies and troops are camping before the actual battle begins. The mountain is indicated by a curved half-circle line which is bordered by a row of trees. The trees are depicted in a manner typical of the style of Guler : ball-like or pyramidical tree-crowns on brown trunks. Occassionally there are the pointed and high-reaching cypresses or the light-green plantains inbetween. Flowering shrubs also appear in the background. This combination of trees is also used to depict the dense jungle, surrounding Laṅkā.

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Another characteristic feature in this series is the ocean in front of the walls of Laṅkā. The lower rim of the picture is filled with the waves of the sea in which fish and other (in some cases rather monstrous and peculiar) water-animals are swimming.

In this paragraph some details of the 17 drawings of this series in the Prince of Wales Museum (Bombay) will be described. These drawings were acquired for the Museum in the year 1934 by the then director, late Dr. Motichandra, who also wrote the brief entries for the internal museum catalogue. The drawings are done in black ink with a fine brush. Some lines have been drawn a second time with a more dry brush and more ink to stress some specific parts or to loosen up the amount of similar objects, as the hoard of monkeys or warriors in the battle would be. These drawings represent the first sketches for the miniatures which were to be coloured later. The straightforward, but still swinging and powerful delineation, the firm sketching of the architectural buildings, the thoughtful traits and expressions in the faces which are already remarkable in these sketches, even more so in the finished miniatures, seem to be creations of a master-hand. Since early times it has been the task of the master-painter to sketch the first outline. His ideas created the draft, for on this the outcome of a miniature depended. The disciples and assistants got the opportunity to fill in the ground-areas with colour, to draw the landscape, the background and minor details.

K. Khandalawala too, mentions that these drawings in the Prince of Wales Museum resemble the 'Siege of Laṅkā' series in style and that the numerous leaves of this whole series are distributed all over various museums. He is rather uncompromising in appointing the date and evaluating the artistic merits of this series. He writes : "I cannot conceive of this series being painted before 1750 A.D. and in fact it may belong to even the last quarter of 18th century. ...Their bodies are wooden and their faces are heavy and lacking expression." [43]

In many leaves of this series the figures seem to be breathing liveliness and energy, which is as much felt in the earlier series of the 'Shangri Rāmāyaṇa', the Gīta Govinda and the Rāmāyaṇa of ca. 1720 series. In the later centuries the natural appearances of the figures in their settings has been partly lost. Some fourteen

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leaves of a Rāmāyaṇa which are kept in the Museum fūr Indische Kunst (West Berlin) relate the story in a pleasant but slightly stale and uninvolving mood. However, the incidents are depicted with much care and minute observation, for example illustration no. 55 : Rāvaṇa is slaughtered, his wives are coming to the battle-field with their arms raised high as sign of their mourning. The same picture also narrates four more incidents : Rāma encountering a warrior, also with raised hands (may-be Indrajit, Rāvaṇa's son realizing the defeat of his father); Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa surrounded by their monkey-leaders; Vibhīṣaṇa and numerous monkey-heros greeting Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. On top of the picture Indra is seen leaving the place of action on his elephant Airāvata. The entries in the catalogue of the Berlin Museum do not give detailed clue regarding the origin, place of production, or the date of acquisition. It is suggested that these leaves could have been a product of Mandi and belong to the middle of the 19th century. These miniatures depict scenes from Tulasīdāsa's Rāmacaritamānasa. The typical Mandi features of this period are trees in which all the leaves are drawn separately; massive bodily figures, especially of the monkeys; landscape made of hilly layers next to or on top of each other; facial type with thin, long-drawn eyes in a Kangra manner; and the "fondness for jagged shapes, pale colour and angular rhythms" of Sajnu's style[44]. These features also appear in the illustrations to this Rāmāyaṇa. May-be these leaves have been executed in the school of Sajnu. Two leaves which most probably belong to this same series are kept in Chandigarh Museum (no. E-75 and E-76).[45] They depict Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa camping along with the bear- and monkey-army on the seashore, while four godly figures approach them with offerings from the waves of the ocean (no. E-75) (ill. 63) and the battle between the monkeys and the demons, most prominently the duel between the monkey-hero Aṅgada and the demon Vajradanta in various positions, like Aṅgada rushing with a tree in his upraised hands towards Vajradanta, Aṅgada beating him with the tree and cutting off his head (no. E-76) (ill. 62). One simiļar single leaf, depicting a scene from the Rāmāyaṇa, is kept in the Victoria & Albert Museum (London). But some of the details are so different that it cannot be counted without doubts with the Berlin miniatures. A striking difference is the formation of the rocks and the flower-ornamentation on the brim in the London picture.

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The Rāmāyaṇa of ca. 1720 and the 'Siege of Laṅkā' series.

The leaves of the Rāmāyaṇa of ca. 1720 and the 'Siege of Laṅkā' series display remarkable similarities. The most striking feature in both these series is the common horizontal format with the shining red and broad border. The iconography of the figures of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Sītā, Rāvaṇa and the demons are similar in both the series, especially the rather stout bodies of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa and monkeys with their massive legs. As third feature of similarity one could mention is the colour-palette. In both the series it is powerful, bright and fascinating, the colours being used in their pure and unmixed forms : the bright dominating yellow of the palace of Laṅkā or of the background of the scenes; the deep blackish-blue of the body of Rāma and some of the demons, or of the sky in the background; the pure white of the body of Lakṣmaṇa, Hanumāna or the demons and monkeys; the green and dark-green in manifold shadings for trees and vegetation.

The figures of Rāma in the Rāmāyaṇa of ca. 1720 and the 'Siege of Laṅkā' leaves are resembling each other in their dark-blue body-colour marked by a sharp outline of the face with a pointed nose, recessing chin, long-drawn, almond-shaped eyes and a high and prominent, evenly drawn half-circle line of the eyebrows. The similarity is also revealed in other minute details, like in the earrings of Rāma : two small shining white balls joined by a half-circle wire which goes through the earhole. Besides Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, Hanumāna and other monkey-leaders wear these earrings throughout these Rāmāyaṇa leaves in the same fashion. Another comparable feature in both the series is the peculiar shape of Hanumāna's eyes : evenly shaped arches cut at the lower side by a slightly upward curved line, with big eye-balls in the middle. The eye is roundish and compact and not longish like Rāma's. In some cases, however, Hanumāna too, possesses the longish eye shape. The playful and humerous actions of monkeys and bears while roaming around in the woods (in the case of the *araṇyakāṇḍa*) or awaiting the battle (in the case of the *yuddhakāṇḍa*) display the same source of inspiration : the monkeys climb up trees, pluck fruits, jump down, chat with each other with heads inclined towards each other in a very natural way. In one leaf of the Rietberg Museum, they are engaged in playful erotic postures (see ill. 19). In the 'Siege of Laṅkā' series the monkeys are shown climbing up the fort walls of Laṅkā in unconcealed joy to start the

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fight with the demons or throwing stones and trees at their enemies. Their energetic movements and their lively expressions of childish enjoyment are common in both the series. This can be specially marked in the expression of the monkey peeping out of the tree in illustration no. 19 from the Rietberg Museum and no. 30 from the 'Siege of Laṅkā' series.

The details of the setting in the landscape are also similar: the long and thin pine-trees alternating with bright, light-green plantains (some with fruits and flower-bunches); the trees with strong stems are divided into three or even more partitions and having broad crowns of leaves and sometimes also flowering. This setting is very typical of the landscape in Guler and appears in this very manner in the miniatures of the Guler style. The ocean in front of the Trikūṭa mountain and the island of Laṅkā are conceived in the same way with many parallel lines of smooth waves in which large fish are swimming. Various strange animals and draggon-like monsters can be seen peeping out (cf. ill. no. 18 and 'Siege of Lanka' no. 22, 24, 35) Lastly, the double or tripple ornamental bands on the horns of the demons can be mentioned as common features throught these miniatures.

These similarities could indicate that both the Rāmāyaṇa series were created in the same religious and artistic atmosphere. Several points, however, go to prove that there must have been a difference of time in the completion of both the series. The most obvious distinguishing point is the difference in format : The leaves of the Rāmāyaṇa series of ca. 1720 are smaller than the extraordinarily large-sized leaves of the 'Siege of Laṅkā' series.

A break within a seemingly extensive series occurs occasionally in Pahari miniature painting. The Bhāgavaṭa Purāṇa series of Manaku of about A.D. 1740 was begun, in the initial chapters, on a slightly smaller format, but was never finished. Only drawings illustrate the sixth chapter of the same book. What is remarkable is that there is a series of illustrations to the tenth and eleventh chapters of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, which are slightly larger in size, but very similar in style. It might have been that due to some reason the extensive project was left incomplete and when the successor of the first painter, may-be a son of Manaku, started the work again,

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he "preferred a large size and cooler palette"[46], but he proceeded in the same manner as before. A similar case might have occurred to the Rāmāyaṇa series dealt with here.

Earlier scholars dealing with these series are not unanimous in attributing a place of provenance to either of the series. Goswamy firmly establishes a link between the Gīta Govinda of Manaku dated A.D. 1730 and the Rāmāyaṇa of ca. 1720 saying that there are "strong similarities between the Gīta Govinda paintings and the leaves of the Rāmāyaṇa" and that "there seems to be little doubt that it (i.e. Rāmāyaṇa) is a product of the same aesthetic vision which produced the Gīta Govinda set, and is close to in point of time".[47] Archer attributes this same Rāmāyaṇa series to Nurpur and dates it ca. 1720, admitting that "close relations... have existed between Nurpur and its neighbours Guler and Basohli...". He also sees a "Basohli-like idiom" in the 'Siege of Laṅkā' series and believes it somehow to be a continuation of the artistic spirit of the Rāmāyaṇa of ca. 1720 (attributed to Nurpur by him) reflected in, as he puts it, "the twisted trees, schematic walls, long faces of Sītā and Rāvaṇa and the rendering of the demons". He attributes the 'Siege of Laṅkā series' to Guler and dates it to ca. 1725 to 1730[48]. Khandalawala attributes the 'Siege of Laṅkā' series to Guler on the ground of a similarity between Rāma's conical headgear and that worn by the *mahout* in the portrait of Raja Bikram Singh of Guler and dates it to the second half of the 18th century.[49]

It is most likely that both the Rāmāyaṇa series were created in the area of Basohli, in which influences from Guler can be discerned more or less prominently. The houses of Guler and Basohli were after all closely related by marriage-alliances, as the daughter of Raja Dalip Singh of Guler married Raja Medini Pal (A.D. 1722–1736) of Basohli, and the sister of Raja Medini Pal married Raja Dalip Singh's second son, Raja Govardhan Chanda (A.D. 1741–1773). This personal relationship could have resulted in influencing the style of painting in each state as both Rajas were ardent admirers and patrons of art.

The execution of both the series could be dated to the 2nd and 3rd decades of the 18th century, admitting that the Rāmāyaṇa series depicting *araṇya-* and *sundara-kāṇḍa* is slightly earlier than the 'Siege of Laṅkā' series depicting the *yuddhakāṇḍa*.

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Notes

1. M. Winternitz, History of Indian Literature. (repr. Delhi, 1972), p.p. 517 and 507/508.
2. ibid., pp. 498-499.
3. ibid., p. 495.
4. Al Badaoni, Muntakh al-Tawarikh, transl. W. H. Lowe and Sir W. Haig. (repr. Academica Asiatica, 1973), vol. II, pp. 346-347.
5. A. K. Coomaraswamy, Rajput Painting. (repr. New Delhi, 1976); and A. K. Coomaraswamy, Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Part V. Rajput painting. (Cambridge, Mass., 1926).
6. K. Goswamy, Vaishnavism in the Punjab Hills and Pahari Painting. Ph. D. Thesis (Chandigarh University, 1969), pp. 143-148.
7. V. C. Ohri, Carvings from Mandi and Bilaspur. in: *Lalit Kala,* no. 14, p. 58; and V. C. Ohri, The Origins of Pahari Painting. in: *Roopa Lekha,* vol. 38, p. 112.
8. Abul Fazl Allami, Ain-i-Akbari, transl. H. Blochmann and H. S. Jarrett (Calcutta, 1873-74, 3 vols., repr. Calcutta 1949), vol. III, pp. 127-128.
9. B. N. Goswamy, The artist Ranjha and a dated set of Ramayana drawings. in: *Chhavi* Golden Jubilee Volume, (Bharat Kala Bhavan, Benaras, 1971), pp. 224-231.
10. K. Goswamy, op. cit., pp. 83-85.
11. M. S. Randhawa, Basohli Painting. (Delhi, 1959), p. 22.
12. K. Goswamy, op. cit., pp. 102-103.
13. J. P. Vogel and J. Hutchison, History of the Punjab Hill States. 2 vols. (Lahore, 1933), p. 465.
14. W. G. Archer, Paintings of the Punjab Hills. 2 vols. (London, 1973), vol. I, p. 390.
15. ibid., p. XX.
16. K. Goswamy, op. cit., pp. 106-107.
17. Chamba, ca. A. D. 1680, exhibited in Museum Rietberg (Zurich), repr. in: R. Skelton, Indian Miniatures from the 15th to 19th centuries (1961), pl. 59; and Archer, op. cit., CHAMBA pl. 2
18. Kulu, ca. 1720/30, Victoria & Albert Museum (London), I. S. 29-1954, repr. in: Archer, op. cit., KULU pl. 17.
19. Mandi, ca. 1820/30, Victoria & Albert Museum (London), I. S. 13-1949, repr. in: Archer, op. cit., MANDI pl. 62.
20. Vogel and Hutchison, op. cit., p. 427.
21. Archer, op. cit., p. 390, vol. I.
22. ibid., p. XIX.
23. Coomaraswamy (1916), op. cit., p. 60; and Coomaraswamy (1926), op. cit., p. 47.
24. B. N. Goswamy, The family as the basis of style. in: *Marg,* 1968, vol. 21, no. 4, pp. 19-20.
25. ibid., pp. 32-33.
26. Rajput Miniatures from the collection of Edwin Binney 3rd. (Portland Art Museum, Portland, 1968), pp. 68-70.

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27. Archer, op. cit., p. 48.
28. Archer, op. cit., vol. I, p. 396. The three leaves reproduced here are NURPUR 17 (i)–17 (iii).
29. K. Khandalawala, Pahari Miniature Painting. (Bombay, 1958), p. 128.
30. Coomaraswamy (1926), op. cit., p. 47.
31. A. Ghose, The schools of Rajput painting. in: *Roopa Lekha*, vol. I, no. 2, 1929, p. 5.
32. Archer, op. cit., vol. I, p. 146.
33. Coomaraswamy (1916), op. cit., p. 59.
34. Coomaraswamy (1926), op, cit., p. 47.
35. J. C. French, Kangra Frescoes. in: *Art and Letters*, vol. XXII, no. 2, 1928, pp. 57-59.
36. Archer, op. cit., vol. I, p. 147.
37. B. N. Goswamy (1968), op. cit., p. 32, footnote 104.
38. Randhawa, op. cit., pp. 21–22; and Archer, op. cit., vol. I, p. 326.
39. B. Barrett and B. Gray, Indische Malerei. "Die Kunstschatze Asiens" (Genf, 1963), pp. 97–98; and R. Ettinghausen, Paintings of the Sultans and Emperors of India. (New Delhi, 1961), pls. 3 and 4.
40. ibid.
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42. B. N. Goswamy (1971 Chhavi), op. cit.,
43. Khandalawala, op. cit., p. 127.
44. Rajput miniatures, op. cit., p. 86.
45. I am thankful to Mrs. Suwarcha Paul (Chandigarh) for drawing my attention to these two miniatures in the Chandigarh Museum.
46. B. N. Goswamy (1968), op. cit., p. 40.
47. ibid., pp. 32–33, where he also writes: "It is reasonable in the face of this, then, to arrive at the conclusion that Manaku, son of Pandit Seu, executed this set of paintings" (i.e. the Ramayana leaves).
48. Archer, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 146 and 396.
49. Khandalawala, op. cit., p. 127: "This Ramayana series belonged to Raja Raghunath Singh of Guler (1884–1920 A. D.)"; and p. 128: "....beyond saying that its rounded treatment of the figures, its use of tree idioms similar to those in the Basohli Gita Govinda of 1730,....."

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List of leaves belonging to the Rāmāyaṇa of A.D. 1720

1. After Bharata met his brother in the forest having tried in vain to bring him back to Ayodhyā as king, Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā left Citrakūṭa and went to Atri's hermitage.
   loc. : Lahore Museum (Lahore), no. E. 109 (02725/1933).
   with border : 21. 8 cm x 31. 7 cm; without : 15.5 cm x 26.7 cm.
   inscribed on reverse with text in *nāgarī* characters from the opening canto of the āraṇyakāṇḍa, and the *nāgarī* numeral 1.
   publ. : Aijazuddin, NURPUR 2 (i).

2. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa are welcomed in an hermitage by the *ṛṣis* with fruits.
   loc : Chandigarh Museum
   publ. : Goswamy (1968), fig. 17.
   ill. 3

3. After leaving the hermitage, Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā wander again in the forest, where they meet the demon Virādha, who seizes Sītā.
   loc. : Lahore Museum (Lahore), no. E. 89 (02705/1933).
   with border : 21. 8 cm x 31. 7 cm; without : 17. 1 cm x 26. 8 cm.
   inscribed on reverse with text in *nāgarī* characters from the second canto of the āraṇyakāṇḍa, and the *nāgarī* numeral 3.
   publ. : Aijazuddin, NURPUR 2 (ii).

4. The demon Vīrādha is wounded by arrows and finally liberated by the touch of Rāma's feet.
   loc. : Lahore Museum (Lahore), no E. 102 (02718/1933).
   inscribed on the reverse with text in *nāgarī* characters from the fourth canto of the āraṇyakāṇḍa, and the *nāgarī* numeral 4.
   publ. : Aijazuddin, NURPUR 2 (iii).

5. Lakṣmaṇa cuts off the nose of demoness Śūrpaṇakhā who had wooed for Rāma and then for Lakṣmaṇa as a beautiful girl. Regaining her demon-body, she flies off.

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loc. : Chandigarh Museum, no E. 98.
publ. : Goswamy (1968), fig. 18

6. Śūrpaṇakhā complains to her brother Khara and incites him to kill Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa.
loc. : Lahore Museum (Lahore) no. E. 110 (02726/1933).
with border : 21. 8 cm x 31. 4 cm; without : 17. 1 cm x 26. 8 cm.
inscribed on the reverse with text in *nāgarī* characters from the seventh canto of the āraṇyakāṇḍa, and the *nāgarī* numeral 7.
publ. : Aijazuddin, NURPUR 2 (iv).

7. Śūrpaṇakhā leads Khara's demon army to fight Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa.
loc. : Lahore Museum (Lahore), no. E. 111 (02727/1933).
with border : 22. 2 cm x 31. 7 cm; without : 17. 1 cm x 27. 6 cm.
inscribed on reverse with text in *nāgari* characters from the 19th canto of the *āraṇyakāṇḍa*, and the *nāgari* numeral 8.
publ. : Aijazuddin, NURPUR 2 (v).

8. Khara's army of 14 demons under the leadership of Dūṣaṇa is proceeding, but finally completely defeated by Rāma.
loc. : Chandigarh Museum, no. E. 104.
inscribed on reverse with text in *nāgarī* characters from the *āraṇyakāṇḍa* : first part : interpolation after canto 24, v. 23
second part : canto 25, v. 10.
ill. 4

9. During the fight, the three-headed demon Triśiras is slain by Rāma.
loc. : Lahore Museum (Lahore), no. E 100 (02716/1933).
with border : 22.2 cm x 31.7 cm; without : 17.8 cm x 27.3 cm.
inscribed on reverse with text in *nāgarī* characters from the 27th canto of the *āraṇyakāṇḍa*, and the *nāgarī* numeral 11.
publ. : Aijazuddin, NURPUR 2 (vi).

10. Khara in his chariot attacks Rāma.
loc. : Lahore Museum (Lahore), no. E. 105 (02721/1933).

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with border : 22.2 cm x 31.1 cm; without : 17.1 cm x 26.3.
inscribed on the reverse with text in *nāgarī* characters from the 28th canto of the *āraṇyakāṇḍa*, and the *nāgarī* numeral 12.
publ. : Aijazuddin, NURPUR 2 (vii).

11. After slaying the demons, Rāma is congratulated by the *ṛṣis* of Daṇḍaka forest, while the gods in heaven shower flowers.
loc. : Lahore Museum (Lahore), no. E. 99 (02715/1933).
with border : 22.2 cm x 31.4 cm; without : 17.8 cm x 27.3 cm.
inscribed on reverse with text in *nāgarī* characters from the 30th canto of the *āraṇyakaṇḍa*, and the *nāgarī* numeral 14.
publ. : Aijazuddin, NURPUR 2 (viii).

12. Śūrpaṇakhā compains to her brother Rāvaṇa, the demon-king, that Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa have killed Khara and the demon army.
loc. ; Lahore Museum (Lahore), no. E. 107 (02723/1933).
with border : 21.8 cm. x 31.8 cm; without : 17.4 cm x 27.3 cm.
inscribed on reverse with text in *nāgarī* characters from the 31st canto of the *āraṇyakāṇḍa* and the *nāgarī* numeral 15.
publ. : Aijazuddin, NURPUR 2 (ix).

13. As Śūrpaṇakhā had kindled the desire for Sītā in Rāvaṇa, he decides to carry her off. The miniature shows Rāvaṇa approaching the wise demon-ascetic Mārīca to ask for help in this matter, to which Mārīca only unwillingly agrees.
loc. : Chandigarh Museum, no. E. 106.
inscribed on reverse with text in *nāgarī* characters from the *āraṇyakāṇḍa* : canto 33, v. 37; 33, v. 38; c. 34, v. 10; c. 34, v. 13; c. 34, v. 17.
publ. : Archer (1973), vol. II, NURPUR 17 (iii).
ill. 5

14. Demon Mārīca appears as golden deer in front of Sītā in order to attract her attention and to lead Rāma away.
loc. : Lahore Museum (Lahore), no. E. 96 (02712/1933).
with border : 22.2 cm x 31.7 cm; without : 17.5 cm x 27.3 cm.
inscribed on reverse with text in *nāgarī* characters from the 43rd canto of the

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āraṇyakāṇḍa and the *nāgarī* numeral 17.
publ. : Aijazuddin, NURPUR 2 (x).

15. Demon Mārīca who had led away Rāma from his *āśrama* as a beautiful deer, is killed by Rāma and regains his demon-shape.
loc. : Chandigarh Museum, no. E. 97.
inscribed on reverse with text in *nāgarī* characters from the *āraṇyakāṇḍa* : canto 42, vv. 14–15; c. 43, v. 1.
ill 6

16. Rāvaṇa approaches Sītā in the disguise of a wandering ascetic.
loc. : Lahore Museum (Lahore), no. E. 112 (02728/1933).
with border : 22.2 cm x 31.1 cm; without : 17.5 cm x 26.7 cm.
inscribed on reverse with text in *nāgarī* characters from the 45th canto of the *āraṇyakāṇḍa* and the *nāgarī* numeral 19
publ. : Aijazuddin, NURPUR 2 (xi)

17. Rāvaṇa, having approached Sītā as a wandering ascetic while Rāma was out to hunt the golden demon-deer and Lakṣmaṇa sent sway, carries her off to Laṅkā flying over the domain of the expelled monkey-king Sugrīva.
loc. : Lahore Museum (Lahore), no. E. 108 (02724/1933).
with border : 22.2 cm x 31.7 cm; without : 17.8 cm x 27.0 cm.
inscribed on reverse with text in *nāgarī* characters from the *āraṇyakāṇḍa* and *nāgarī* numeral 21.
publ. : Archer (1973), NURPUR 17 (ii); and Aijazuddin, NURPUR 2 (xii).

18. The king of Eagles Jaṭāyus attacks Rāvaṇa to save Sītā, but is finally defeated by Rāvaṇa who cuts off his wings and talons.
loc. : Chandigarh Museum.

19. Sītā is brought by Rāvaṇa to Laṅkā and put into Aśoka garden, where he orders some *rākṣasī*, demonesses, to keep watch over her.
loc. : Chandigarh Museum, no. E-114.
inscribed on the reverse with text in *nāgarī* characters from the *āraṇyakāṇḍa* : canto 52, v. 12; c. 52, v. 14; c. 52, vv. 16 to 20.
ill. 7

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20. Indra brings *haris,* the ambrosial liquid which quenches hunger and thirst, to Sītā, while god Brahmā, sits to the right.
loc. : Lahore Museum (Lahore), no. E. 115 (02731/1933).
with border : 21.2 cm x 31.7 cm; without : 16.7 cm x 27.3 cm.
inscribed on reverse with text in *nāgarī* characters from the 57th canto of the *āraṇyakāṇḍa* and the *nāgarī* numeral 23.
publ. : Aijazuddin, NURPUR 2 (xiii).

21. In their search for Sītā, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa meet with dying Jaṭāyus who is just able to tell about Sītā's fate of being carried off southwards by Rāvaṇa.
loc. : Chandigarh Museum, no. E. 101
inscribed on reverse with text in *nāgarī* characters from *āraṇyakāṇḍa* : canto 59, v. 2; canto 64, v. 36.
ills. 8 and 10.

22. On their search for Sītā, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa come across a tremendously big demon Kabandha who only consists of a large mouth in a large belly without a head due to a curse of Indra. Kabandha is slain by Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa.
loc. : Lahore Museum (Lahore), no. E 95 (02711/1933).
with border : 20.9 cm x 31.1 cm; without : 16.5 cm x 26.7 cm.
inscribed on reverse with text in *nāgarī* characters from the 71st canto of the *āraṇyakāṇḍa,* and the *nāgarī* numeral 25.
publ. : Aijazuddin, NURPUR 2 (xiv).

23. Rāma liberates the demon Kabandha by burning him to ashes who, being relieved, gives advice to seek help from the expelled monkey-king Sugrīva.
loc. : Chandigarh Museum; no. E. 91.
publ. : Archer (1973), NURPUR 17 (i).
ill. 9

24. Out of the flames Kabandha rose as beautiful person who ascended in his heavenly chariot to the celestial worlds.
loc. : Lahore Museum (Lahore), no. E. 94 (02710/1933).
with border : 20.9 cm x 31.1 cm; without : 16.5 cm x 26.7 cm.
inscribed on reverse with text in *nāgarī* characters from the 73rd canto of the

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āraṇyakāṇḍa and the *nāgari* numeral 26.
publ. : Aijazuddin, NURPUR 2 (xv).

25. Sugrīva being sure of Rāma's promise to kill his brother, calls Vālī out of his cave at Kiṣkindha to challenge him to fight, while Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Hanumān are hiding behind trees.
loc. : The Cleveland Museum of Art, no. 73.103.
size : 20.3 cm x 30.9 cm.
ill. 11.

26. Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sugrīva send out groups of monkeys into all four directions to search for Sītā's whereabouts.
loc. : Museum Rietberg (Zurich), no. RVI 844.
with border : 22 cm x 30 cm; without : 17.0 cm x 25.6 cm.
ill. 12

27. The monkeys are searching Sītā in hills, water and jungle.
loc. : Jagdish and Kamla Museum (Hyderabad), no. 76.223 p 223–PH 13.
size : 16.1 cm x 26.9 cm without border
20.2 cm x 31 cm with border.
ill. 13

28. After being informed by Jaṭāyus' brother Sampāti about Sītā's stay in Laṅkā, Hanumān, Aṅgada and the other monkeys, who had the task to search the southern region, sit at the seashore in discussion how to cross the ocean to reach Laṅkā.
loc. Museum Rietberg (Zurich), no. RVI 846.
with border : 21.1 cm x 30.5 cm; without : 17.7 cm x 26.5 cm.
ill. 14

29. Hanumān, Aṅgada and Jambuvān climb up Mahendra mountain as a stand for jumping across the ocean.
loc. : Museum Rietberg (Zurich), no. RVI 847.
with border : 22 cm x 30.9 cm; without : 17.6 cm x 26.8 cm.
ill. 15

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30. Hanumān on the sea-shore concentrating on his jump across the ocean to Laṅkā.
loc. : Museum Rietberg, Zurich, Switzerland, no. RVI 841.
measurements : 30 cm x 21.7 cm with border
25.7 cm x 17.5 cm without border

31. Hanumān flying across the ocean to reach Laṅkā.
loc. : Museum Rietberg, Zurich, Switzerland, no. RVI 840
measurements : 30.5 cm x 21.8 cm with border
26.2 cm x 17.5 cm without border
ill. 16

32. On his flight across the ocean Hanumān encounters with the demoness Surasā who opens her mouth widely so that Hanumān should enter into it. Hanumān, then, contracts his body into a speck, rushes through Surasā's body and comes out behind her in his previous shape.
loc. : Museum Rietberg, Zurich, Switzerland, no. RVI 842.
measurements : 31 cm x 21.8 cm with border
26.5 cm x 17.6 cm without border.
ill. 17

33. After a talk with Sītā in Aśoka garden and after laying waste to the castle and city of Laṅkā, Hanumān is pursued by Indrajit, Rāvaṇa's son, and bound with his divine weapon *brahmāstra*, depicted as snake-rope wound around Hanumān's body. God Brahmā appears in the sky.
loc. : Museum Rietberg, Zurich, Switzerland, no. RVI 848.
measurements : 30.8 cm x 21.8 cm with border
26.6 cm x 17.7 cm without border
ill. 18

34. After Hanumān's successful mission to Laṅkā, he with his envoy return to Kiṣkindhā, Sugrīva's realm. There in the royal park they express their unrestrained joy in playful actions, until Dadhi-mukha, Sugrīva's brother-in-law and keeper of the park, complains to Sugrīva.
loc. : Museum Rietberg, Zurich, Switzerland, no. RVI 845

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measurements : 30.5 cm x 21.8 cm with border
26 cm x 17.5 cm without border.

ill. 19

35. Hanumān, Aṅgada, Jambuvān and the other monkeys give the report of their successful mission to Laṅkā to Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa.
loc. : Museum Rietberg, Zurich, Switzerland, no. RVI 843.
measurements : 30 cm x 21.8 cm with border
25.4 cm x 17.0 cm without border

ill. 20

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List of leaves belonging to 'Siege of Laṅkā' series :

1. Three subsequent scenes are seen in this miniature : a. Rāvaṇa sends out his emissary Śuka (Śārdūla according to Coomaraswamy 1916) with the order to spy size, location and martial plans of Rāma's army, b. he is recognized and caught by the monkey and bear warriors, and c. after due discussion with his advisers Rāma releases the spy and sends him back to Rāvaṇa
(Vālmīki VI, 20 and 24)
location : Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection, no. 17.2745.

published : a : Coomaraswamy, 1926, no. XVII on pl. X, description on p. 79 (but under no. 17.2745; no. 17.2746 and 17.2746 are exchanged).
b. Archer 1952, no. 12
c. Khandalavala 1958, no. 58, description on p. 127–128.
d. Archer 1973, vol. II, GULER, pl. 9 (ii)
e. Coomaraswamy 1916, pl. 22
f. Beach M. C. 1965, fig. 4
according to Coomaraswamy 1926 :
g. Museum of Fine Art Bulletin, no. 96, pl. LXXXI.
ill. 21

2. After the unsuccessful mission Rāvaṇa sends out two of his spies with the same order. In order not to be caught both approach Rāma's army in the disguise of monkeys. The monkeys building a tightly closed circle around Rāma and his advisors realize that strangers, who are actually not belonging to their own rows, are nearing and they look backward in repellent manner. (Vālmīki VI, 25).
loc. : Cleveland Museum of Art. Property of George P. Bickford, Cleveland.
publ. : Welch, S. C., A Flower from every meadow. New York 1973, pl. 41, however, described as 'Vibhīṣaṇa joins Rāma's monkey and bear army'
ill. 22

3. Vibhīṣaṇa immediately recognized the two enemies in monkey-disguise, they are revealed and captured by the monkeys and bears. (Vālmīki VI, 25, middle part).

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loc. : Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Ross-Coomaraswamy collection, no. 17.2746.

publ. : a. Coomaraswamy 1926, no. XVIII on pl. XI. description on p. 79 (no. 17.2745 and 17.2746 are exchanged).

b. Coomaraswamy 1927, no. 266, description on p. 275.

c. Archer 1952, fig. 11

d. Rowland, B. 1959, no, 132, description on p. 193.

e. Archer 1973, vol. II, GULER 9 (i)

ill. 23.

4. Vibhīṣaṇa brings the two intruding enemies in front of Rāma and awaits strict and heavy punishment of the spies. But Rāma, greatheartedly, orders to let them free giving them a warning message for their King Rāvaṇa, saying that he will be completely destroyed, if he does not return Sītā. Again, a sequence of three scenes is being illustrated in this miniature. As next, Śaraṇà and Śuka are seen entering the palace of Laṅkā, as they are showing their backsides. Afterwards they give a report of their undertaking with Rāma's message to Rāvaṇa, who is seated on the terrace of his palace. Being impressed by Rāma's kindness, the spies end their report with the advice to save their own lives and give back what Rāma is asking for. The frightful expression on their faces with wide-open and sound eyes would indicate their fear in this situation. In this picture an attempt is made to depict space on two-dimensional plain : the high surrounding wall does not prevent the view into the inner courtyard, where the two demons are just entering the palace. The device for this is the sharp angle within the wall, rendered completely different as for example in picture no. 3. (Vālmīki VI. 25 end)

loc. : The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Rogers Fund, 1919. no. 19.24. 1.

not published elsewhere.

ill. 24.

5. As many miniatures of this series, this picture is divided into two halves depicting different scenes. In the left side Rāvaṇa is seen seated in an inner room of his palace, the right side depicts the Aśoka grove. Sītā is seen seated

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under the tree surrounded by some guarding demonesses, Rāvaṇa approaches her, to ask again and again to become his main queen which she constantly refuses. The demon to whom Rāvaṇa is talking in his palace might be the magician Vidyujjihvā whom he ordered to creat a *māyā*-head of Rāma. (Vālmiki VI, 31)

loc. : The Cleveland Museum of Art, gift of Mr. George P. Bickford. no. 66.143.

publ. : a. Archer 1952, fig, 13 (right half, detail), index to illustration on p. 94.

b. Khandalavala 1958, no. 60 (right half, detail), description on p. 127–28.

c. Lee, S. E. Rajput Painting, pl. 3 (in colour, whole picture)

d. Lee, S. E. A History of Far Eastern Art, pl. 20 (in colour, whole picture).

e. Archer 1973, vol. II, GULER 9 (iii) (in black-and-white).

f. UNESCO Kurier : Weltkunst, Dec. 1967, no. 12, 8th year, in 'Skulptur und Malerei' by B. N. Goswamy, p. 16–27, illustration of details on two pages.

g. Coomaraswamy 1916, pl. 23 (right half, detail).

6. The incident depicted in this picture follows very close to that of miniature no. 5. Rāvaṇa tells to Sītā all the details about how Rāma was killed in the battle-field. As proof the magician brings forward the *māyā*-head of Rāma, as second one he shows Rāma's bow. Thinking of her seemingly desperate situation Sītā is seated in complete grief under the tree, resting her head on her arms. The satisfaction of the demon-magician about his creation is his broadly grinning mouth ending in sharp teeth. The joy about the deceiving of Sītā is stressed with the depiction of the five darkish demons, all with crafty grinning faces, quelling out of the entrance of the palace. (Vālmiki VI, 31).

loc. : Museum of Fine Arts, Ross-Coomaraswamy collection. no. 17.2747.

publ. : a. Coomaraswamy 1926, no. XIX on pl. XII, description on p. 80.

b. Archer 1973, vol. I, mentioned on p. 147

according to Archer 1973, vol. I, p. 147 also :

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c. Gangoly 1926, pl. 16 (a).

ill. 26

7. While Sītā is still in full grief, one of Rāvaṇa's army generals, Prahasta, comes running into the Aśoka-grove and asks for a meeting. Rāvaṇa immediately leaves the grove and listens to the report Prahasta has to give. After due consideration of his advisors' opinions he gives order to all his army generals to summon immediately all the demon-warriors and prepare them for the battle. (Vālmīki VI, 32). One half of this picture shows the palace-building in which Rāvaṇa is seen in conference with army-general Prahasta in reverential attitude. The huge tangled mass of demon-army summoned in front of the palace dominates the picture. The clumsy amount of demon-bodies and martial animals does not give the impression of disciplined ranks, the manifold variations in bodily shapes, facial expressions, in weapons and the colour-combination loosens the monotony of mass of similar objects. Often the animal-like body of the demons is not easily distinguishable from the martial animals, like the tiger and the demon above it in the middle of the warriors, both open their mouths and show their sharp white teeth out of which the tongues are hanging, both raise their heads and their big eyes sparkle in excitement, the tiger, which is exactly of the same appearance as the *vāhana* of the Great Goddess in many contemporary and later Basohli miniatures, can be recognized from its dark stripes.

loc. : Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Ross-Coomaraswamy collection, no. 17.2749

publ. : a. Coomaraswamy 1926, no. XXI on pl. XIII, description on p. 80.
b. Archer 1973, vol. I, p. 147 mentioned.
according to Archer 1973, vol. I p. 147 also :
c. Gangoly 1926, pl. 16 (b).

ill. 27

8. As soon as Rāvaṇa leaves the Aśoka grove to attend the meeting with his army generals, the *māyā*-head of Rāma and his bow and arrow which were lying in front of Sītā, disappear. The *rākṣasī* Saramā who is devoted to Sītā, explains that Rāma is living and that he soon will start the battle in order to

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bring Sītā home to Ayodhyā. Sītā whose moods have cheered up again is seen in talk with the demoness, while in the palace Rāvaṇa is depicted seated in conference with his demon-advisors. (Vālmīki VI, 32 end, 33 and 34).

loc. : Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Ross-Coomaraswamy collection, no. 17.2748.

publ. : a. Coomaraswamy 1926, no. XX on pl. XII, description on p. 80.
b. Khandalavala 1958, no. 59, description on p. 127-128.
c. Archer 1973, vol. I, mentioned on p. 147 (GULER).

ill. 28

9. After Rāvaṇa's order to start the battle, the demon-warriors immediately storm out of the palace, forming one point of agitation in an otherwise quiet and calm surrounding like the simply white palace walls and the ordered rows of monkeys around Rāma and his advisors. The narrow line of sky with dramatically curled clouds in deep colours indicate the disastrous events in the near future. (Vālmīki VI, 29).

loc. : British Museum, London. Stein-box II, no. 1955-10-8-078, French collection.

publ. : a. The art of India and Pakistan, Exhibition catalogue of the Royal Academy of Arts, London 1947-48, cat. no. 530 (exh. no. 670).
b. shown in the special exhibition on 'Pahari Painting' in British Museum, London, in spring 1975.
according to Archer 1973, vol. I, Guler p. 147 also :
c. Gangoly 1926, pl. 15.
d. French, J. 1931, Himalayan Art, col. frontispiece.
e. French, J. 1950, Guler Art, in : Art and Letter, mentioned on p. 33

ill. 29

10. The battle has started and Rāma is camping with his army in front of the palace of Laṅkā. While Rāma still takes advice of his closest friends, some of the bears and monkeys virtually break out of their rows in excitement of the near battle and start exploring the field, they hide in trees, break branches, they jump and run around. (Vālmīki VI, 39). Although this picture is unfinished and only partly coloured the liveliness in the movements and expression of

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the monkeys, bears and heroes is already clear from the outlines.
loc. : Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Ross-Coomaraswamy collection.
no. 17.2750.
publ. : a. Coomaraswamy 1926, no. XXII on pl. XIII, description on p. 80.
b. Archer 1973, vol. I, mentioned on p. 147 (GULER).
ill. 30

11. During the discussion with his advisors Rāma is reminded of his royal duties, i. e. to try to attain a reconciliation with the enemy before starting a battle. Then, Rāma sends Aṅgada, Valī's son, to Rāvaṇa with the message to return Sītā, otherwise he and his own race will be destroyed completely and Vibhīṣaṇa will become King of Laṅkā. Aṅgada starts with a big jump from Mount Suvela towards the palace of Laṅkā. As next scene he is seen bringing Rāma's message to Rāvaṇa, as the tongue coiling out of his mouth would indicate. (Vālmīki VI, 41).
loc. : private collection of Mr. Howard Hodgkin, Chippenham, England.
not published elsewhere.
ill. 31 to 33

12. Hearing Rāma's message Rāvaṇa falls into a rage and orders to get hold of the messanger and beat him to death. But Aṅgada himself seizes some of the demons and throws them to the earth, he jumps onto the roof of the palace with such a vehemence that parts are falling down, he seizes Rāvaṇa's crown and returns back to Rāma and his advisors. (Vālmīki VI, 41). Although this picture is not finished completely it is one of the most important ones of the series, as it is the only one having an inscription which Professor B. N. Goswamy has transcribed and translated. The lines are as follows :

'Ramchandra Angat bhaja...Angat rāchhasāṇ chor kari pakaḍeyā. Angat rāchhasan sāmet ugreya mehlāṇ upar gayā latān kan ghar bhana...rāchhasan ...Raune pachhari kari mukat leyi akāṣe kī ubhareyā mukat Ramachandra kī āni ditā se mukat Ramchandre Babhikhane kī le...'

'Ramchandra sent Angada. Angada was caught as a thief by the raksasa. Angada flew together with the raksasa; he went to the top of the palace and broke the structure with his legs. (When) subduing Ravana and taking

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his crown he flew into the sky and brought the crown to the presence of Ramachandra. Ramachandra (gave) the crown to Vibhisana'.

The text is short, like a telegraphic information only. It was there to help the painter in illustrating the details of the respective scene and acting figures correctly. Later on the lines were removed again, i. e. painted over with the shining red of the border. The existence of these lines make clear the co-operation of the painters with the *paṇḍits* who explained and interpreted the scenes which were to be depicted.

loc. : The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1919 no. 19.24.2.

not published elsewhere.

ill. 34

13. Seeing that all efforts for reconciliation are fruitless, Rāma's monkey- and bear army starts proceeding towards Laṅkā, while the demons, frightened or full of excitement, are observing from balconies and towers of the castle what is going on in front of the high surrounding walls. (Vālmīki VI, 41). The sign of the battle is not yet given, Rāma still is seated in the circle of his advisors, and Rāvaṇa still holds conference with his ministers. This picture is one of the outline-drawings of which there are 17 in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

loc. : Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, no. 81-22.

not published elswhere.

ill. 35

14. Seeing the high walls of the castle of Laṅkā being defended on all balconies, towers and turrets by hosts of demons in full armor, he remembers Sītā who is captured behind it and he gives sign to start the battle. All the warriors storm towards the high walls, jump on top of them, crying : 'Let us destroy Laṅkā with our fists'. (Vālmīki VI, 42).

loc. : Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Ross-Coomaraswamy collection, no. 17.2751.

publ. : Coomaraswamy 1926, no. XXIII on pl. XIV, description on p. 81. Archer 1973, vol. I mentioned on p. 147 (GULER).

ill. 36

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15. Both the armies take their positions opposite to each other with terrible tumult and uproar. (Vālmīki VI, 42).
loc. : Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, no. 81-14.
not published elsewhere,

16. Full of rage in his heart, Rāvaṇa gives order to all his generals to summon their troops at the city-gates and start marching out. (Vālmīki VI. 42). This miniature is very similar to no. 7 except that this picture is only a black-and-white drawing and here the demon to whom Rāvaṇa is talking is in standing position.
loc. : Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, no. 81-16.
not published elsewhere.

17. The host of demon-warriors is quelling out of the Laṅkā-gate, the army-leader is seated on a waggon drawn by several bear-like animals. Opposite the demon-ranks are the rows of the bear- and monkey-army, armed with trees and stones and open mouths showing their teeth being eager to fight. (Vālmīki VI, 42) The crow as sign of a coming disaster is depicted on the demons' side.
loc. : Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, no. 81-25.
not published elsewhere.
ill. 37

18. The fight between Rāvaṇa's and Rāma's armies starts in full vehemence. (Vālmīki VI, 42 end).
loc. : Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, no- 81-13.
not published elsewhere.
ill. : 38

19. The monkeys and bears defend themselves with trees, stones and their blank fists, or they attack the heavily armed demons in clusters and bite them and their animals. Some monkeys pierced with arrows are lying dead. (Vālmīki VI, 42-43).
loc. : Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, no. 81-21.
not published elsewhere.

20. to 23. These four pictures show the fights and duels between various heroes

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of the demon- and monkey-army. In these as only ones the names of the heroes are inscribed near the figures in order to identify them, when the painter starts his work of colouring the leave. The names are in Gurmukhi script and differ slightly from the ones mentioned in Vālmīki's text. (Vālmīki VI, 43 end).

loc. : 20. : Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, no. 81-26.
21. : Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, no. 81-30. (ill. 39).
22. : Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, no. 81-27.
23. : Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, no. 81-28.

not published elsewhere.

24. In full violence and fury the battle is going on, but still the painter did not fail to include some glimpses of irony, for example the monkey climbing up the forehead of an elephant or hanging on his trunk. (Vālmīki VI, 43 end).

loc. : Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Ross-Coomaraswamy collection, no. 17.2753.

not published elsewhere.

25. Aṅgada followed by a host of monkeys and bears with stones and trees is attacking Indrajit, Rāvaṇa's son, his chariot is broken, his horse slaughtered. Indrajit is about to flee and become invisible through his magical powers. The earth is covered with dead bodies of demons and animals, stray limbs cut off from the trunks and broken wheels are lying around. The depiction of the demon-musicians with trumpets, drums and cymbals is a scene of loveliness within the dreadfulness of the battle. (Vālmīki VI, 45).

loc. : Museum of Fine Arts, Boston Ross-Coomaraswamy collection. no. 17.2754.

publ. : Coomaraswamy, 1926, no. XXVI on pl. XIV, description on. p. 81.
Archer 1973, vol. I, mentioned on p. 147.

ill. 40

26. Due to a boon given to Indrajit by Brahmā, Indrajit can make himself invisible. He disappears into the clouds and sends a shower of arrows on to the monkey army and the Rāghu-brothers. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa are pursuing him directing their bow and arrow towards the sky. (Vālmīki VI, 44 end).

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loc. : Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, no. 81–23.
not published elsewhere.
ill. 41

27. The shower of arrows is continuously going on and piercing most of the monkey and bear warriors. Seeing that they will not be able to defend themselves, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa have taken down their bows. (Vālmīki VI, 44 end).
loc.: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Ross-Coomaraswamy collection, no. 17.2752.
publ. : Coomaraswamy, 1926, description on p. 81 (no reproduction).

28. Rāma is eager to locate Indrajit. He selects ten of his monkey leaders who should pursue him. These are: both sons of Suṣeṇa, general Nīla, Aṅgada, Śarabha, Dvivida, Hanumān, Sanuprastha, Ṛṣabha and Ṛṣabhaskandha. (Vālmīki VI, 45, 1–3)
loc. : British Museum, London, Stein Box II, no. 1914-5-12-06, O. A. not published elsewhere. ill. 42

29. The ten monkey leaders jump into the sky. Although they defend themselves with huge stones and trees, they are not able to restrain Indrajit from sending out the fatal arrows. (Vālmīki VI, 45, 4-6).
loc. : Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, no. 81–20.
not published elsewhere.

30. The 'snake-like' arrows of Indrajit, which are figuratively depicted as snakes in the miniature, have pierced and bound Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa who are lying in the battle-field among other slaughtered monkeys and bears. The bondage of arrows is shown as a network of entwingled snakes on the bodies of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa which are surrounded by a holo-like circle of the parallel shafts of the arrows. (Vālmīki VI, 45)
loc. : Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Ross-Coomaraswamy, collection, no. 17.2756.
publ. : a. Coomaraswamy 1926, no. XXVIII on pl. XV, description on p. 82.
b. Coomaraswamy 1916, pl. 24.

31. Vibhīṣaṇa and the four monkey and bear leaders are standing in full grief and despair near Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa lying in their arrow-bed, while the shower

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of snakes and arrows is still continuing. (Vālmīki VI, 46).
loc. : Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Ross-Coomaraswamy collection, no. 17.2755.
publ. : Coomaraswamy 1926, description on p. 82 (no reproduction).

32. This miniature shows the same episode as no. 31, but the shower of arrows has stopped and the monkeys and bears are now sitting around Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa who are still being bound in the network of arrows. With an expression of pity in his face Vibhīṣaṇa is seated near the Rāghu-brothers and looking at them. (Vālmīki VI, 45),
loc. : The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, no. 19.24.4, Rogers Fund 1919.
publ. : Miniatures and small sculptures from India. Univ. Gallery. Univ. of Gainesville (a special loan exhibition), pl. 60 a.

33. After this deed Indrajit returns to the palace to meet his father. He informs him that Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa are killed. Rāvaṇa is overwhelmed with joy hearing this news. (Vālmīki VI, 46).
loc. : Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, no. 81–29.
not published elsewhere
ill. 43

34. The joy in Rāvaṇa's palace is unending, Rāvaṇa is seen seated in his audience hall in conference with three demons, in the front hall demon-musicians are playing their drums and trumpets in full vigour. The right side of the picture shows the Aśoka grove where the demoness puts Sītā – according to Rāvaṇa's order – into the heavenly vehicle *puṣpaka* in order to fly to the battle-field, so that Sītā might see her killed husband and finally submit to Rāvaṇa's requests. In the top corner of the picture the vehicle with Sītā and the demoness is seen flying off in the sky. (Vālmīki VI, 47).
loc. : Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, no. 81–31.
ill. 44

35. This drawing shows the same setting as no. 32, : the two Rāghu-brothers are lying as if killed on the bed of arrows, they are encircled by grieving Vibhīṣaṇa and the five army-leaders and the host of monkey and bear warriors. Here the

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puṣpaka-vehicle with the demoness Trijaṭā and Sitā looking down to the battle-field is seen. In sorrow Sitā rests her head on her knees. (Vālmiki VI, 47 end).
loc. : Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, no. 81-19.
not published elsewhere.

36. Again the same setting is seen in this picture as in no. 35. Here only Sītā seems to have been cheered up. She is sitting upright in the heavenly vehicle and talking to Trijaṭā. Full of sympathy for Sītā the demoness has disclosed to her the secret that Rāma is not dead. (Vālmiki VI, 48 middle part).
loc. : Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, no. 81-18.
not published elsewhere.

37. The *puṣpaka* vehicle with Sītā and the demoness Trijaṭā returns back and Sītā is again placed under the Aśoka tree in Aśoka grove, surrounded by numerous *rākṣasī*. Remembering what she had seen on the battle-field she again falls into deep grievance bending her head downwards. (Vālmiki VI, 48 end).
loc. : Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, no. 81-15.
not published elesewhere.

38. Out of a heavy storm in the clouds suddenly Garuḍa appears in the sky. Out of immense fear for him all the snakes which were binding Rāma and Lakṣamaṇa as arrows quickly take flight and disappear in the ocean. As soon as Garuḍa touches Rāma, which is very feelingfully depicted, Rāma wakes up and regains his strength and energy again. (Vālmiki VI, 50, 33-35).
Garuḍa has a rather estranging, stressingly human figure, even the head is that of an actual human with natural ears and eyes. Only the bent beak of a parrot and the attached angel-like wings denote that he is a bird. A similar depiction of Garuḍa appears in one miniature from Bikaner of late 17th century, published in 'A flower from every meadow' as pl. 32.
loc. : Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, no. 81-17
not published elsewhere.
ill. 45

39. In anger about his unsuccessfulness Rāvaṇa calls his son Indrajit and orders him, who had successfully defeated Indra, to kill the Rāghu-brothers. In order to secure his powers Indrajit makes an offering to God Agni. He is

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seen seated in the front hall of a small temple – of a style occuring in this way in Pahari miniatures – and pouring something with a hand-shaped spoon into the fire which is surrounded by arrows. Outside under a tree a goat with detached head is lying and four *rākṣasī* are approaching with more sacrificial goods. (Vālmiki VI, 80, 1–10).

loc. : The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund. no. 19.24.3.

not published elsewhere.

ill. 46

40. While offering to Agni a chariot drawn by four horses emerges out of the fire. In the next scene in the right side of the picture Indrajit has mounted the newly acquired chariot and is driving off, while two *rākṣasas* are observing him standing under the tree in the middle of the picture serving as partition line. (Vālmiki VI, 80, 11–18).

loc. : Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, no. 81-24.

not published elsewhere.

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List of Rāmāyaṇa leaves in Museum fur Indische Kunst, Berlin.

1. Śuka and Śaraṇa are sent out by Rāvaṇa to spy Rāma's army. a. They are seen jumping down from Laṅkā-castle, b. talking to Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa surrounded by the circle of monkey- and bear-leaders having discovered the true nature of the demon-spies, c. going back to Laṅkā.
   loc. : Museum fur Indische Kunst, Berlin, no. MIK I 5183.
   ill. 54

2. Lakṣmaṇa is lying as if dead on a white bed surrounded by Rāma and the monkey- and bear leaders. Hanumān brings the physician Suṣeṇa to Rāma who should cure Lakṣmaṇa,
   loc. : Museum fur Indische Kunst, Berlin, no. MIK I 5187.

3. Several scenes are depicted. Right side : Lakṣmaṇa is lying stretched on the ground as if dead. Rāma taking advice from physician Suṣeṇa sends out Hanumān to get the required herbs for Lakṣmaṇa's curing. On the top frame of the picture Hanumān is seen twice on his way while searching for the herbs. Left side : Rāvaṇa sits in full armament on his chariot surrounded by his demons.
   loc. : Museum fur Indische Kunst, Berlin, no. MIK I 5186.
   ill. 56

4. As Hanumān is not able to identify the required herb, he brings the whole mountain with all the herbs. He is attacked by a demon and kills him.
   loc. : Museum fur Indische Kunst, Berlin, MIK, I 5189.

5. Hanumān carrying the whole mountain with herbs is shot down by Bharata living in his hermitage. 5 scenes are shown. Left side top : Hanumān flying in the sky with the mountain. Left side middle portion: Hanumān just shot down from the sky in discussion with Bharata, a sage and others. Middle portion bottom : Hanumān standing with folded hands talking to Bharata, the sage and others. Right side bottom : the hermitage where Bharata directs his arrow into the sky, where Hanumān is flying, the sage and some women sitting around a sacrificial fire. Right side top : Hanumān again with the mountain in the clouds.

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loc. : Museum fur Indische Kunst, Berlin, no. MIK I 5188

6. Hanumān has brought the mountain, and the physician Suṣeṇa selects the herbs and applies them to Lakṣmaṇa on his chest who is lying on the white bed surrounded by the monkeys and bears. The top right corner shows Rāma talking to Lakṣmaṇa while Hanumān bows down to him in reverence.
   loc. : Museum fur Indische Kunst, Berlin, no. MIK I 5190.
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   loc. : Museum fur Indische Kunst, Berlin, MIK I 5191.
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    loc. : Museum fur Indische Kunst, Berlin, no. MIK I 5192.
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loc. : Museum fur Indische Kunst, Berlin, no. MIK I 5195.

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loc. : Museum fur Indische Kunst, Berlin, no. MIK I 5194.
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ART PLATES

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1. Kṛṣṇa playing with *gopi* in the forest, Rādhā being consoled by a *Sakhī*.

2. Kṛṣṇa playing flute surrounded by *gopī*.

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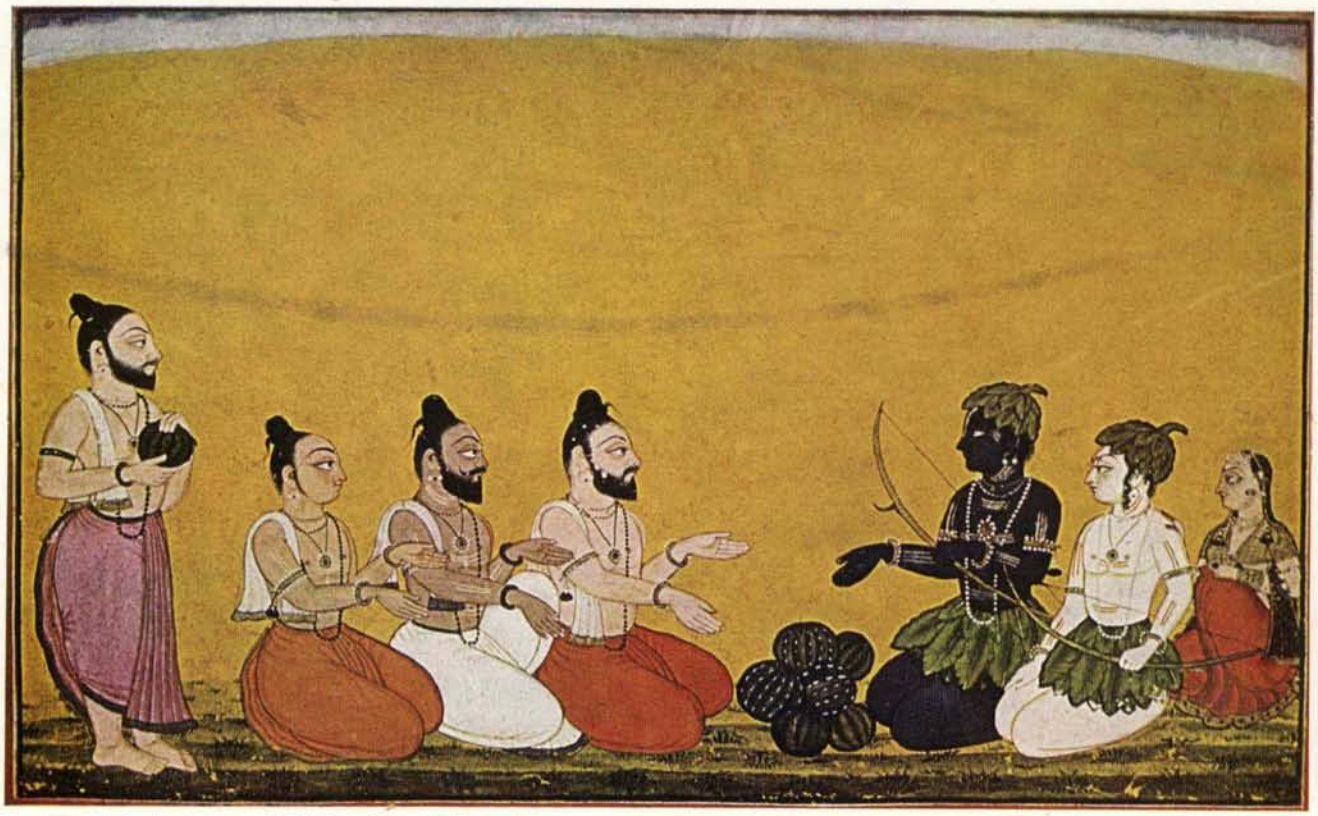

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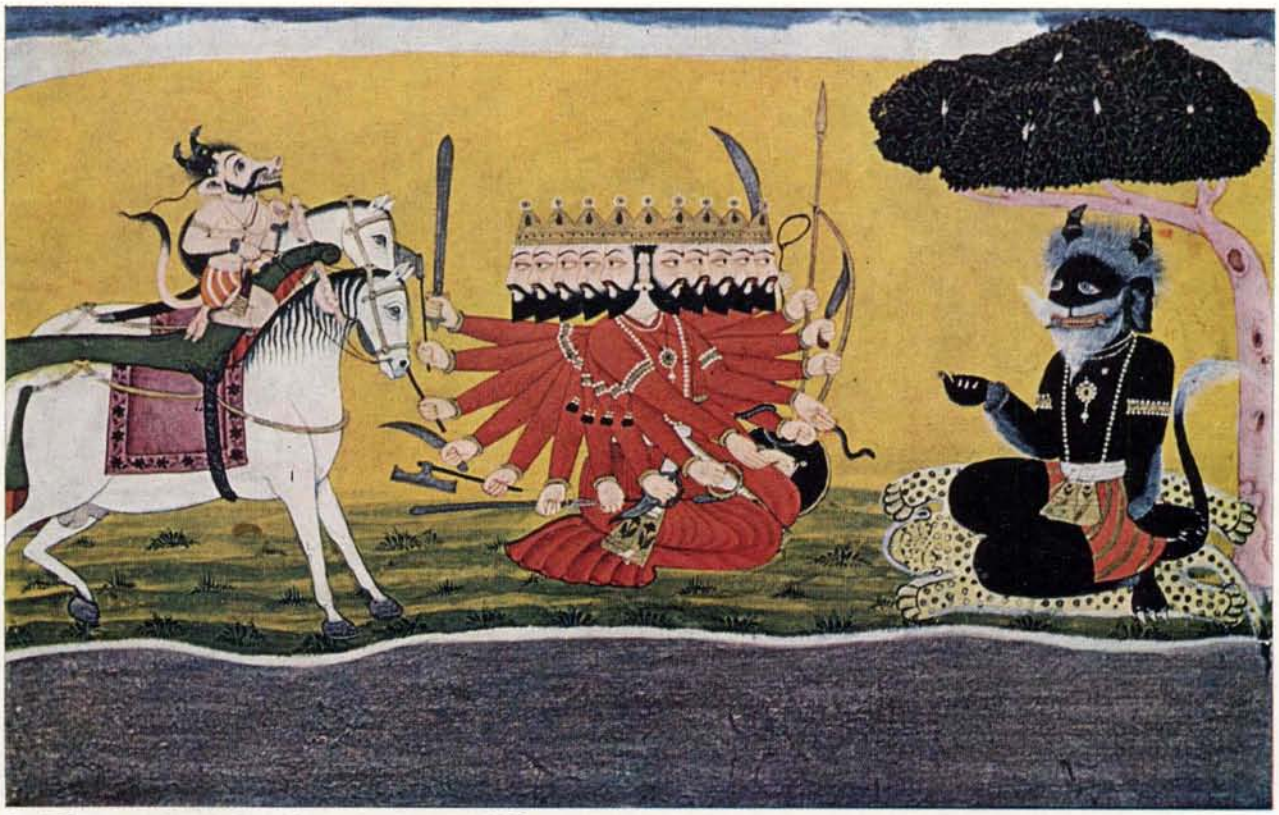

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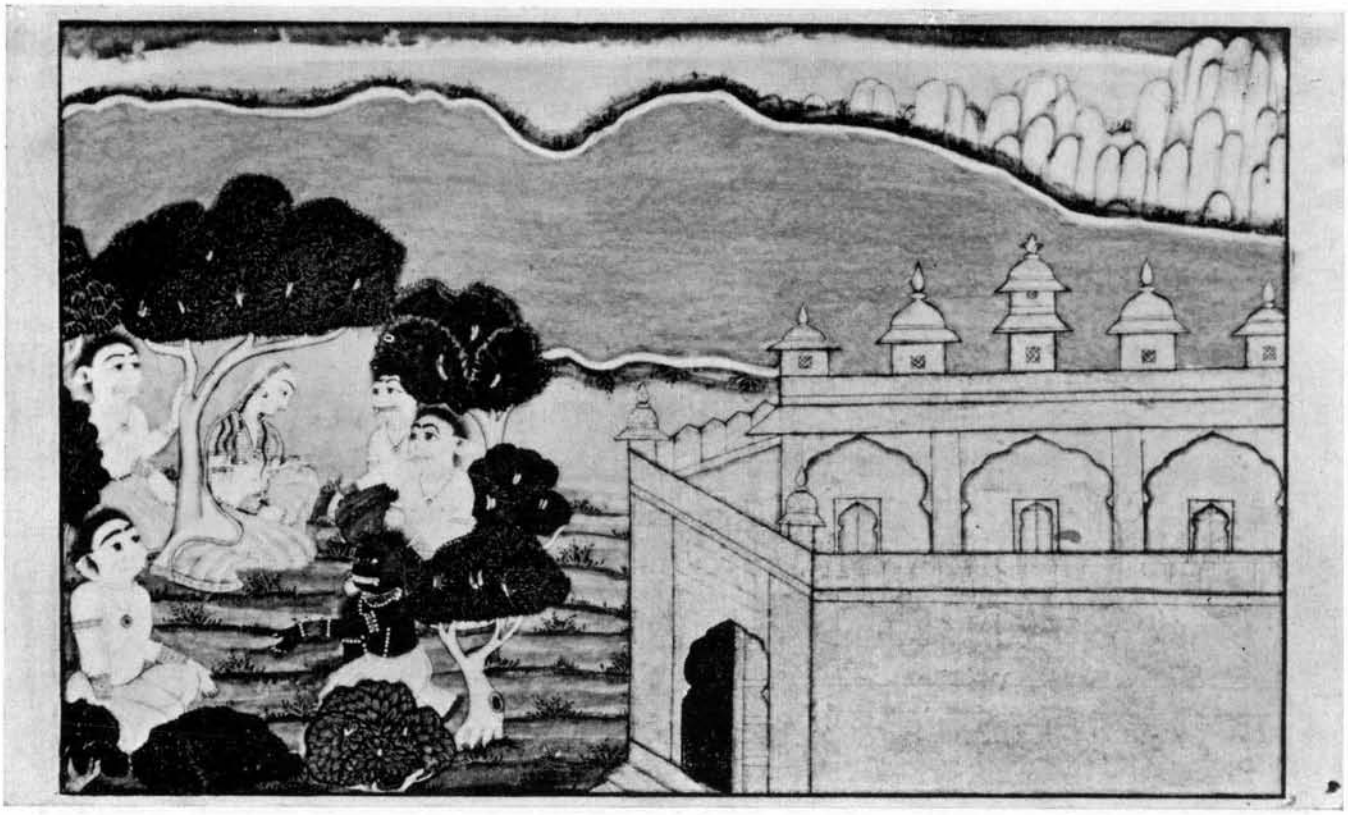

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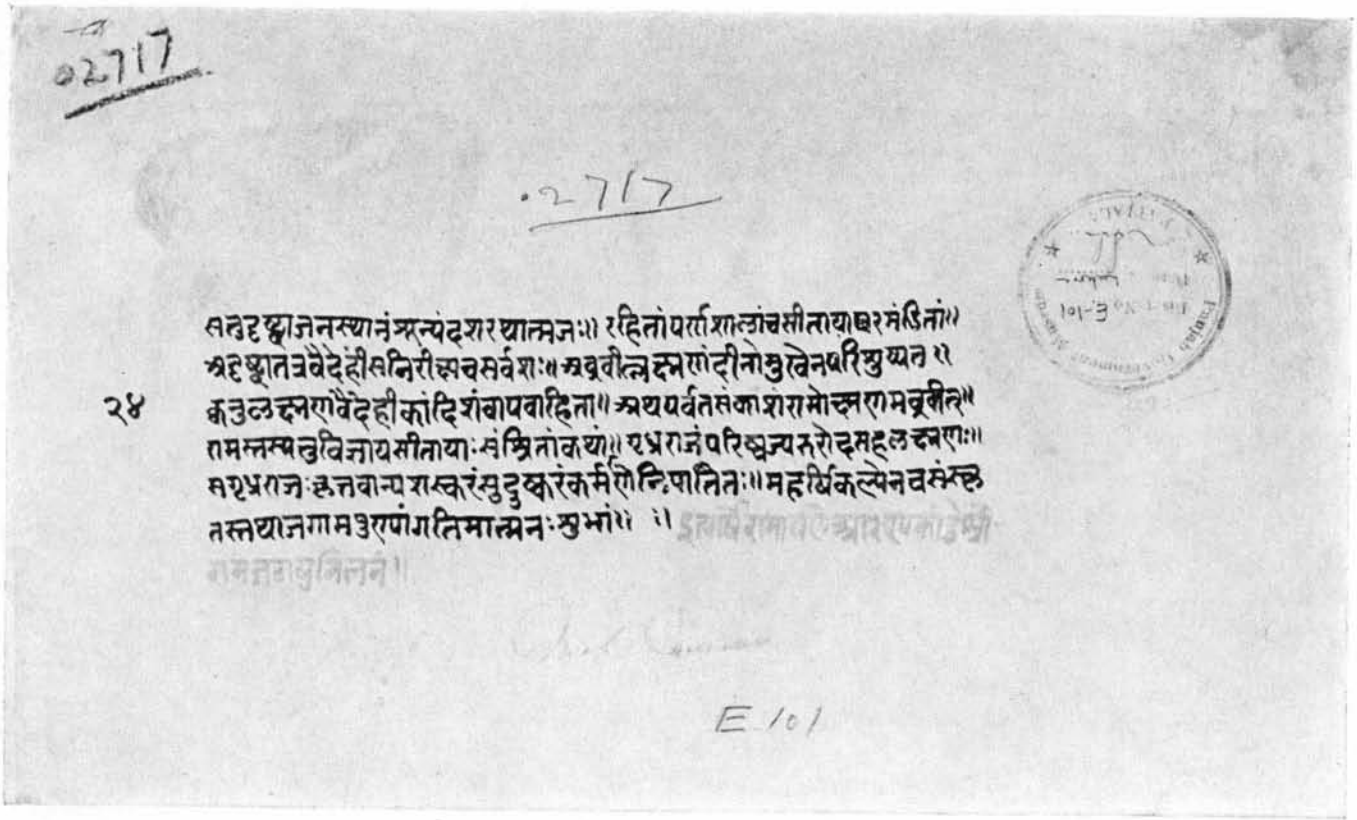

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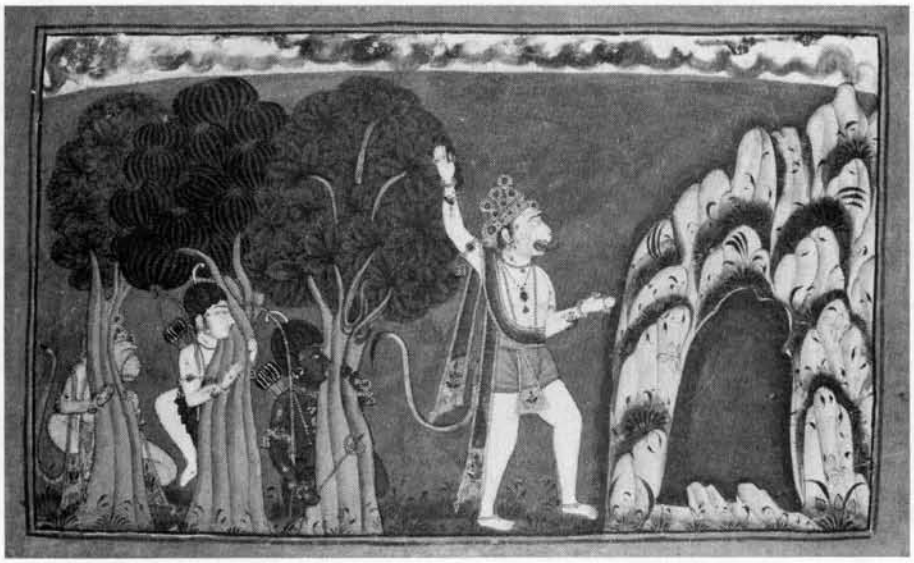

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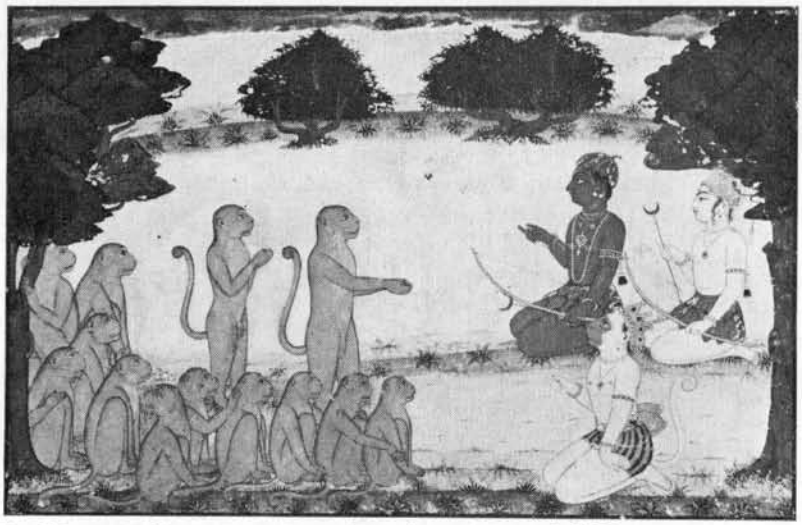

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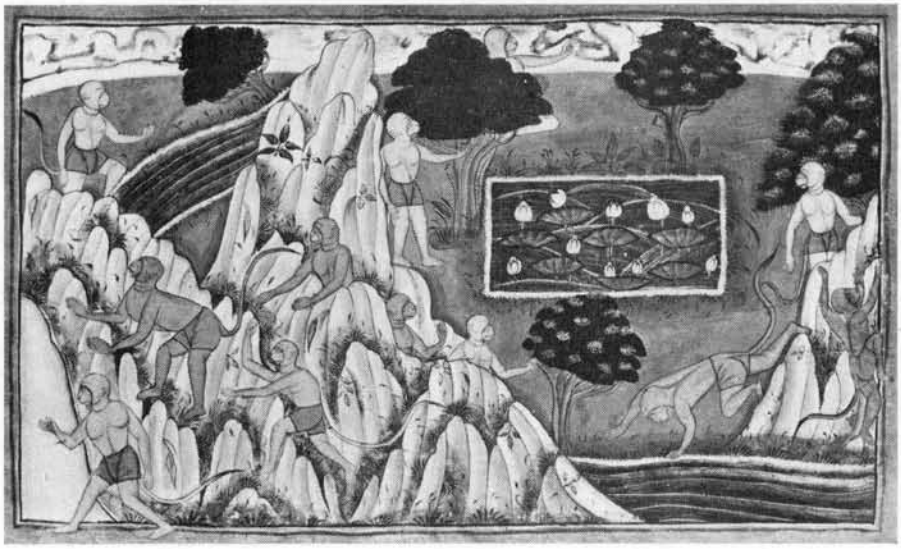

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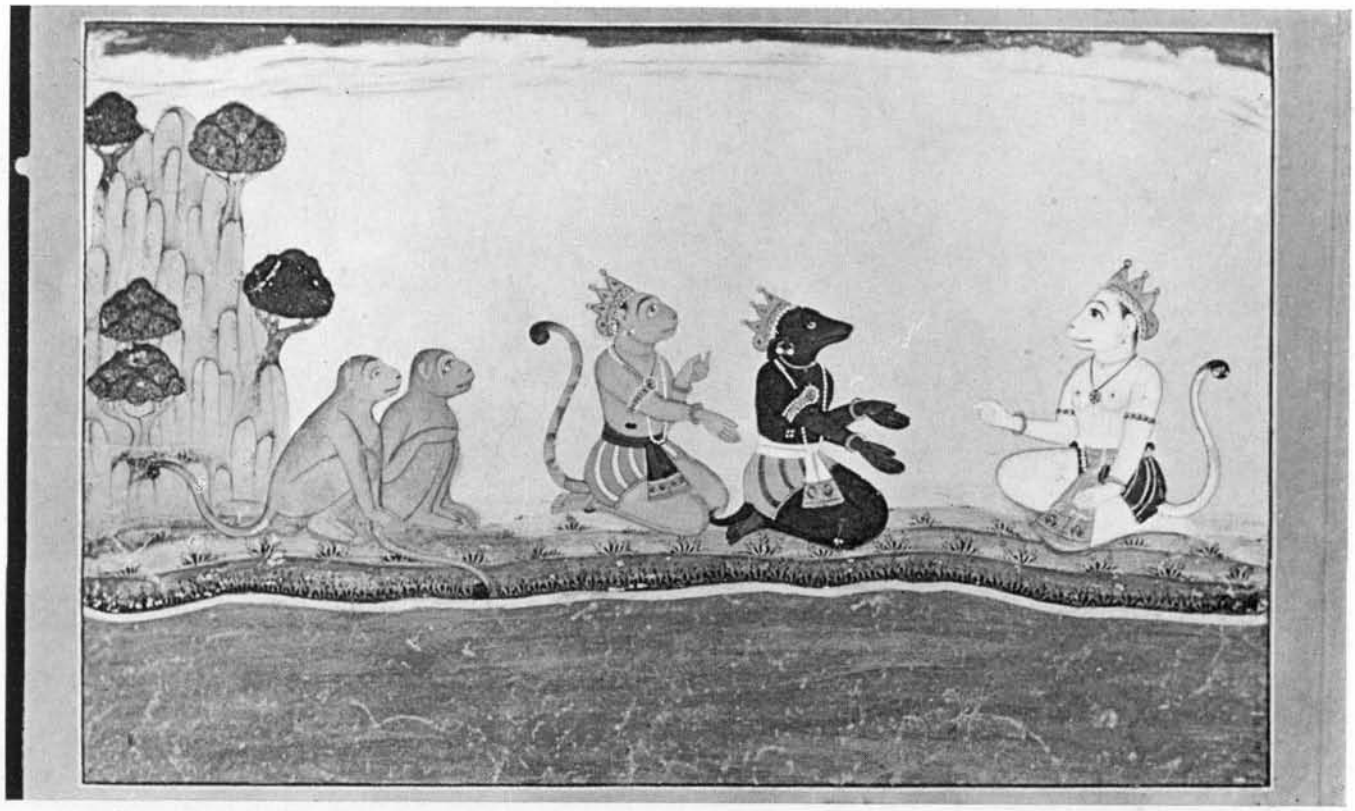

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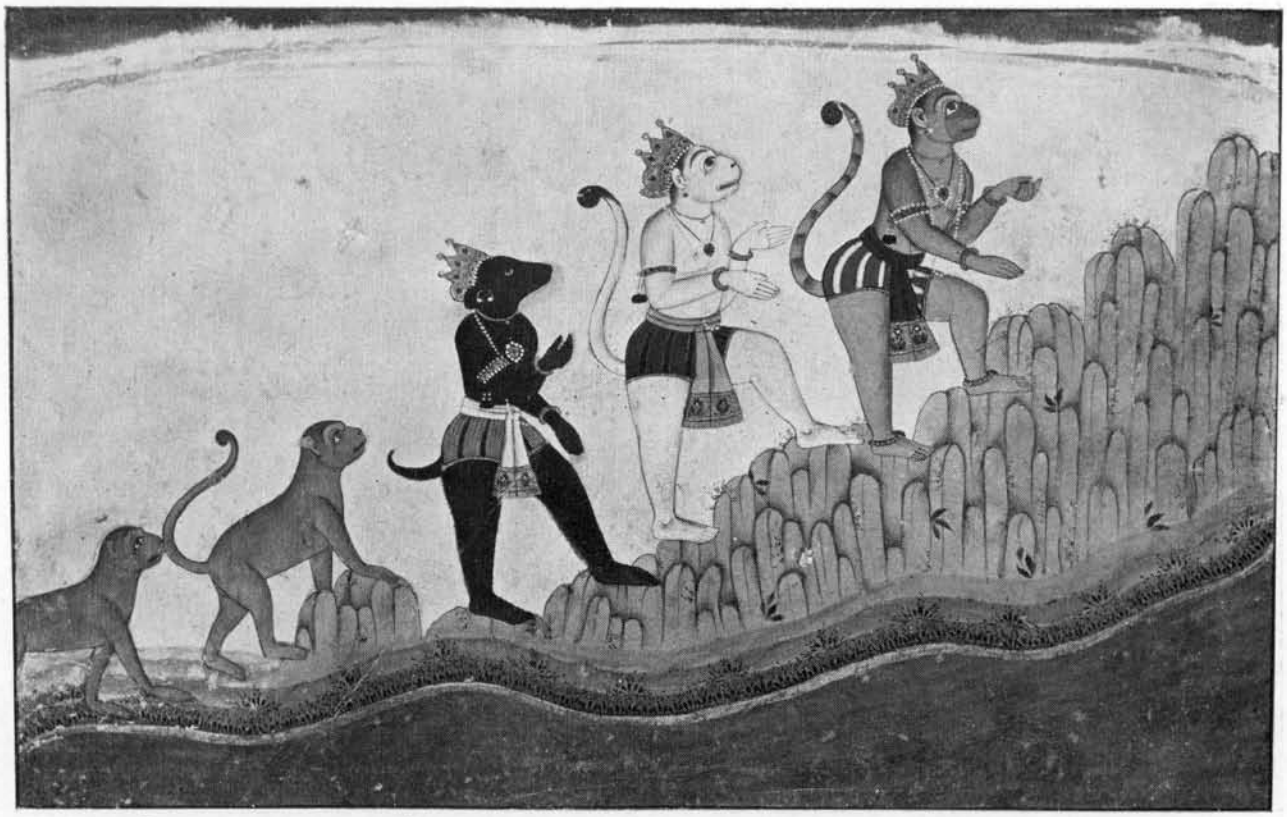

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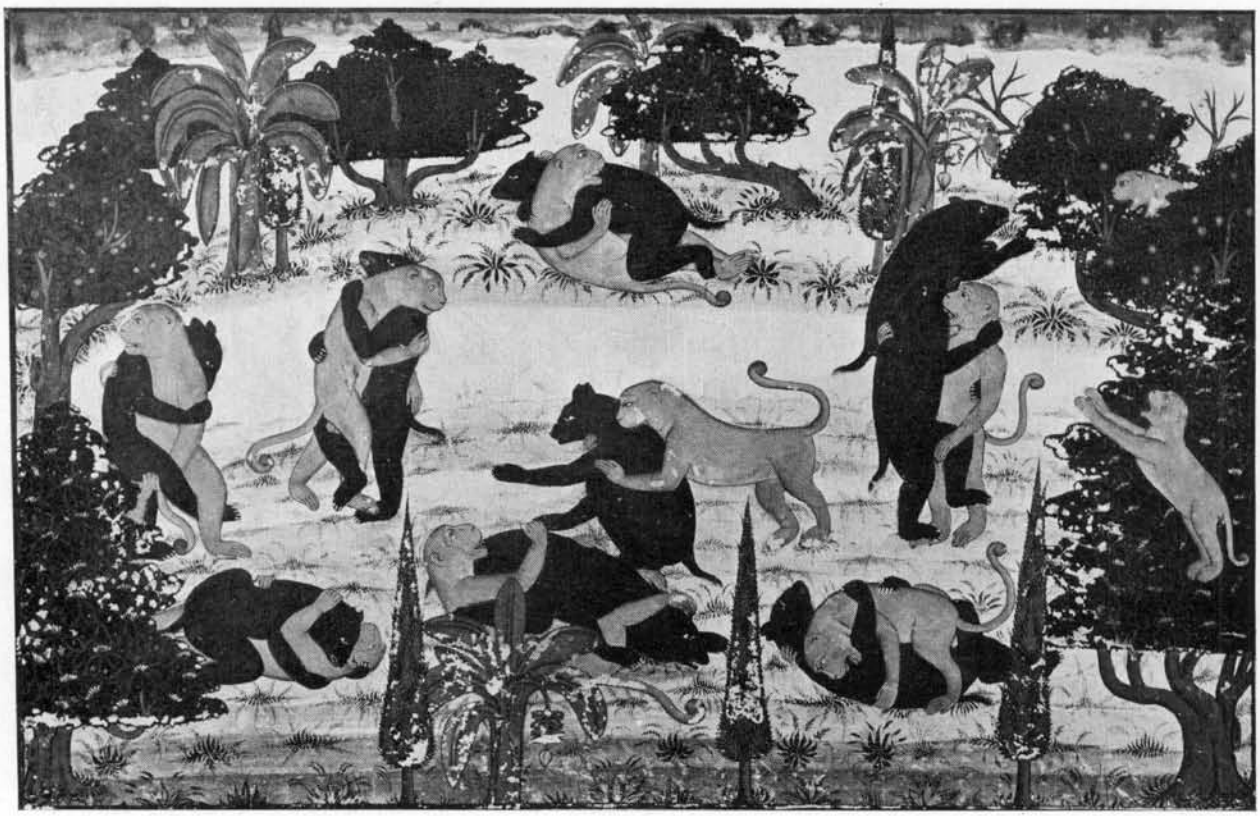
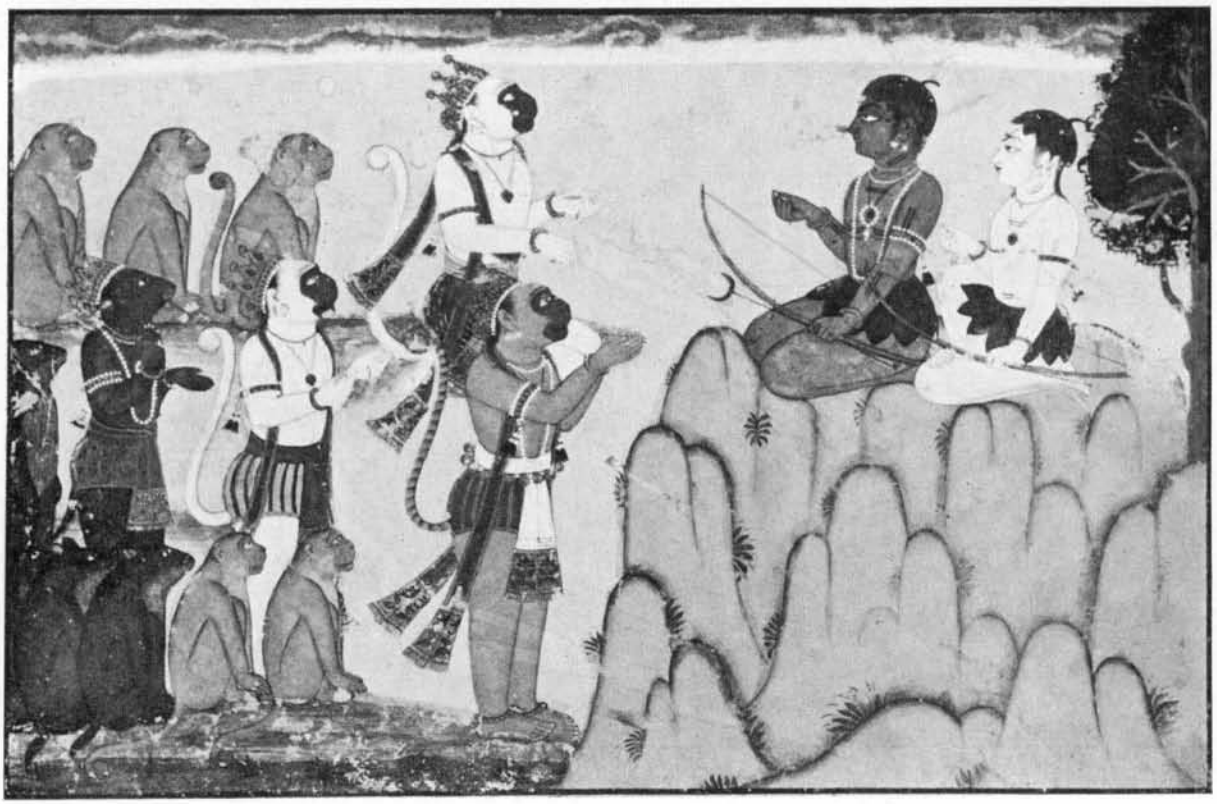
श्री. श्री कैलाससागरसूरि ज्ञानमंदिर
श्री महावीर जैन आराधना केन्द्र
कोबा, (गांधीनगर) पिन. ३८२००९

Plate X



19. Hanumān and his comrades enjoy their return to Kiṣkindhā.



20. Hanumān, Aṅgada and other monkeys give report of their mission to Laṅkā.

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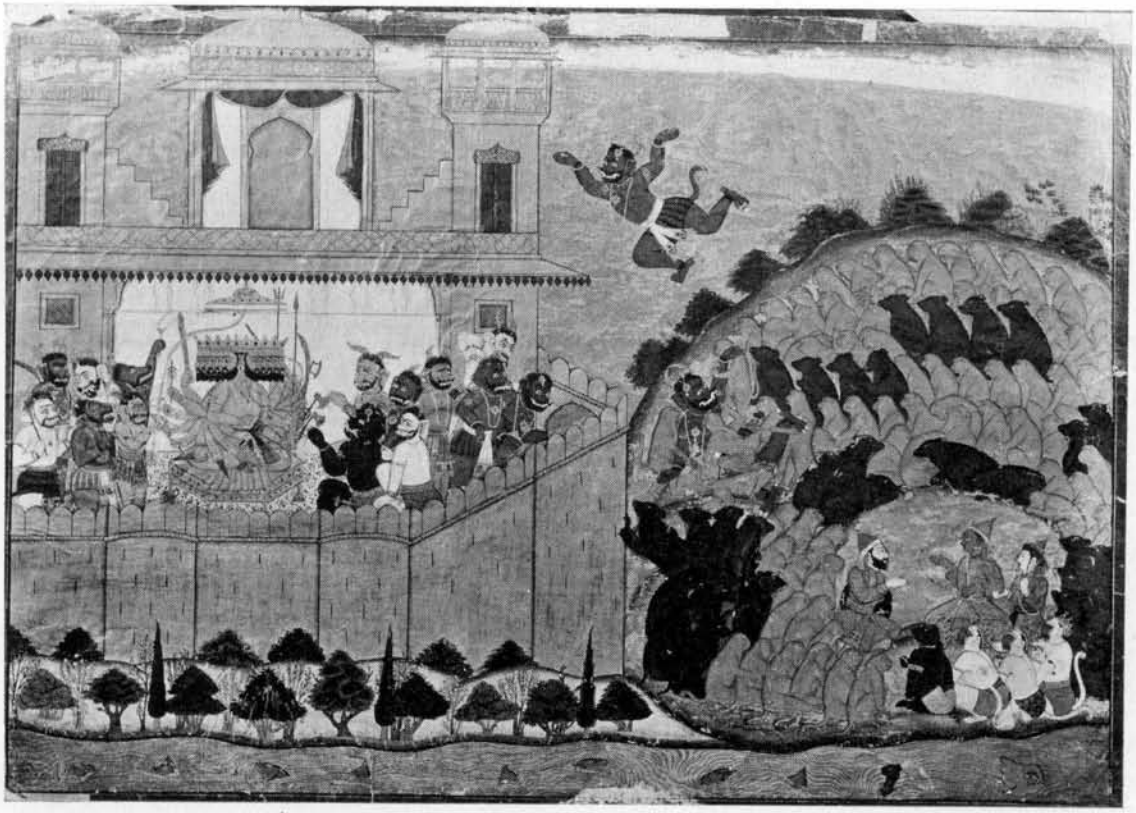
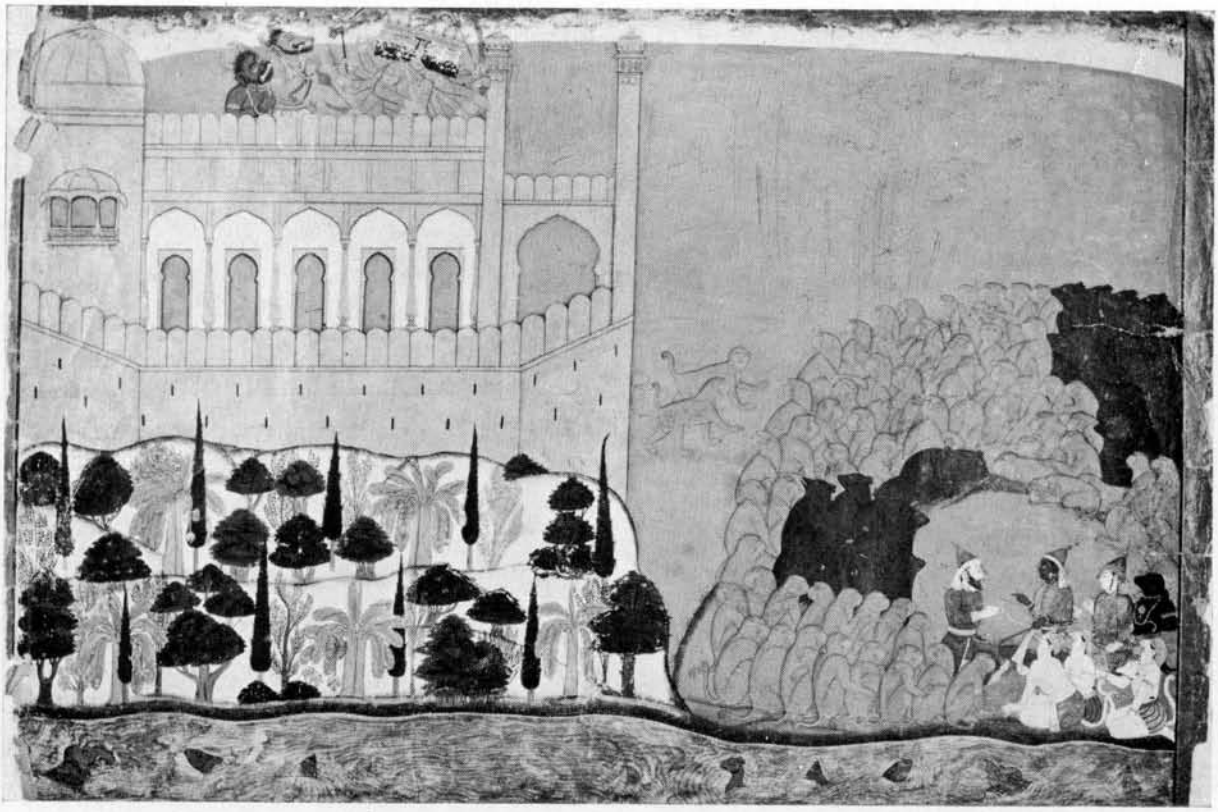
Plate XI



21. Rāvaṇa sending out Śuka to spy Rāma's army.



22. The two spies in monkey-disguise approach.

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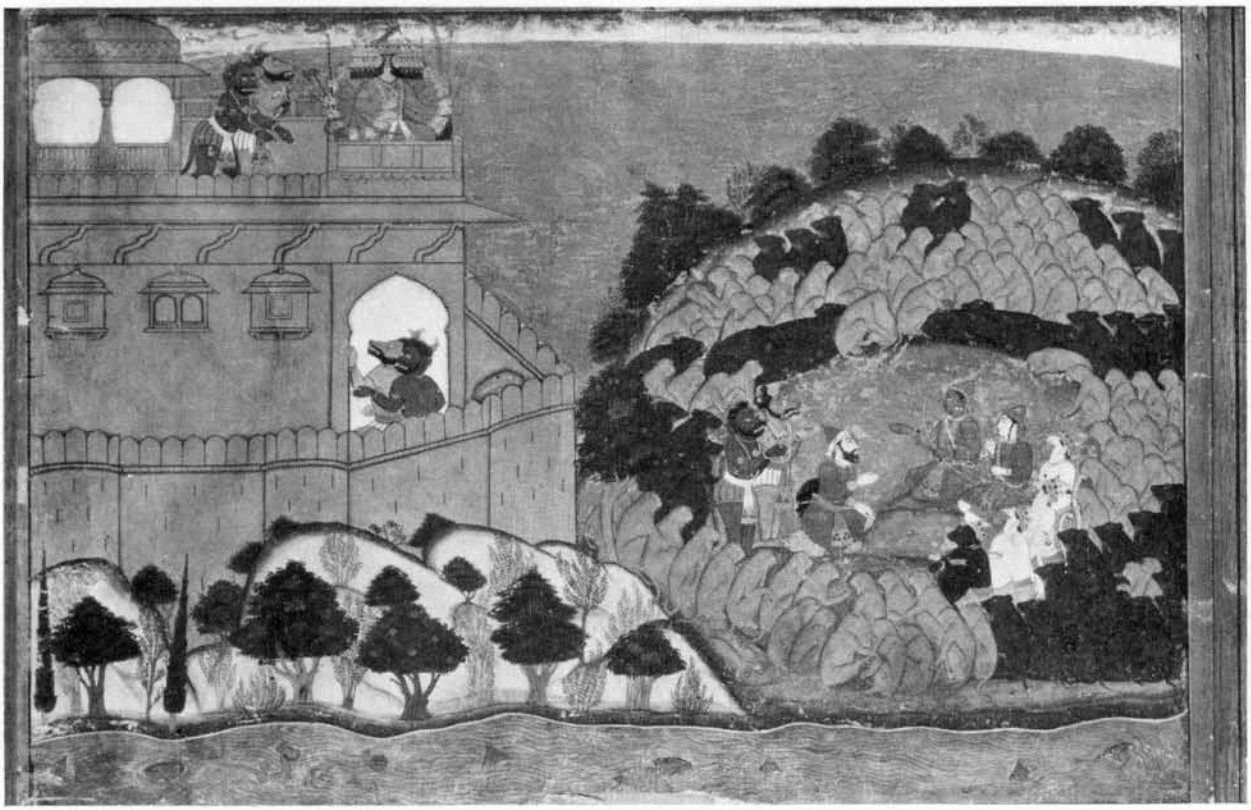
Plate XII

23. Vibhīṣaṇa recognizes the spies.



24. The spies are brought before Rāma.

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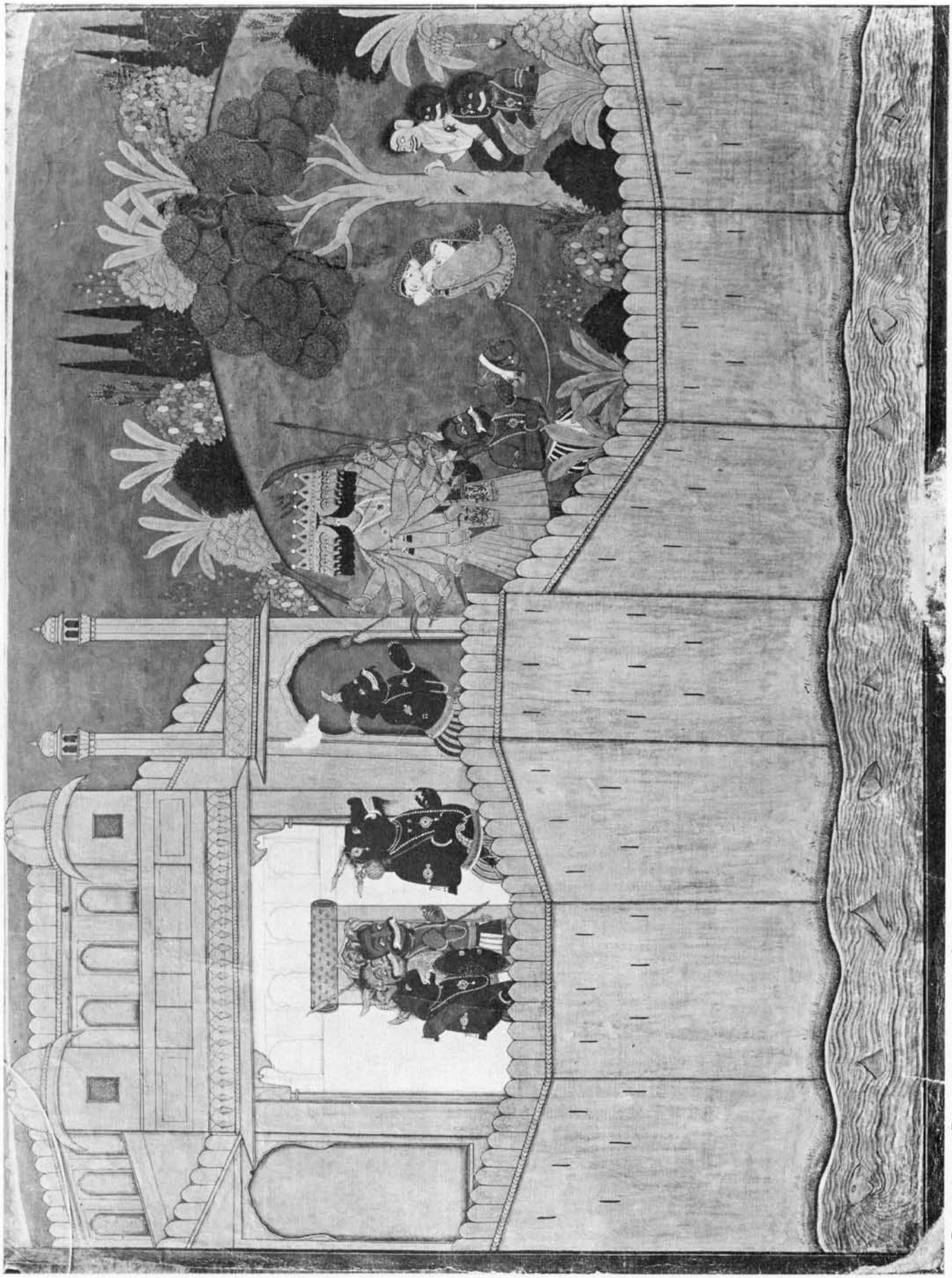
Plate XIII



26. Rāvaṇa shows Rāma's severed head to Sītā.

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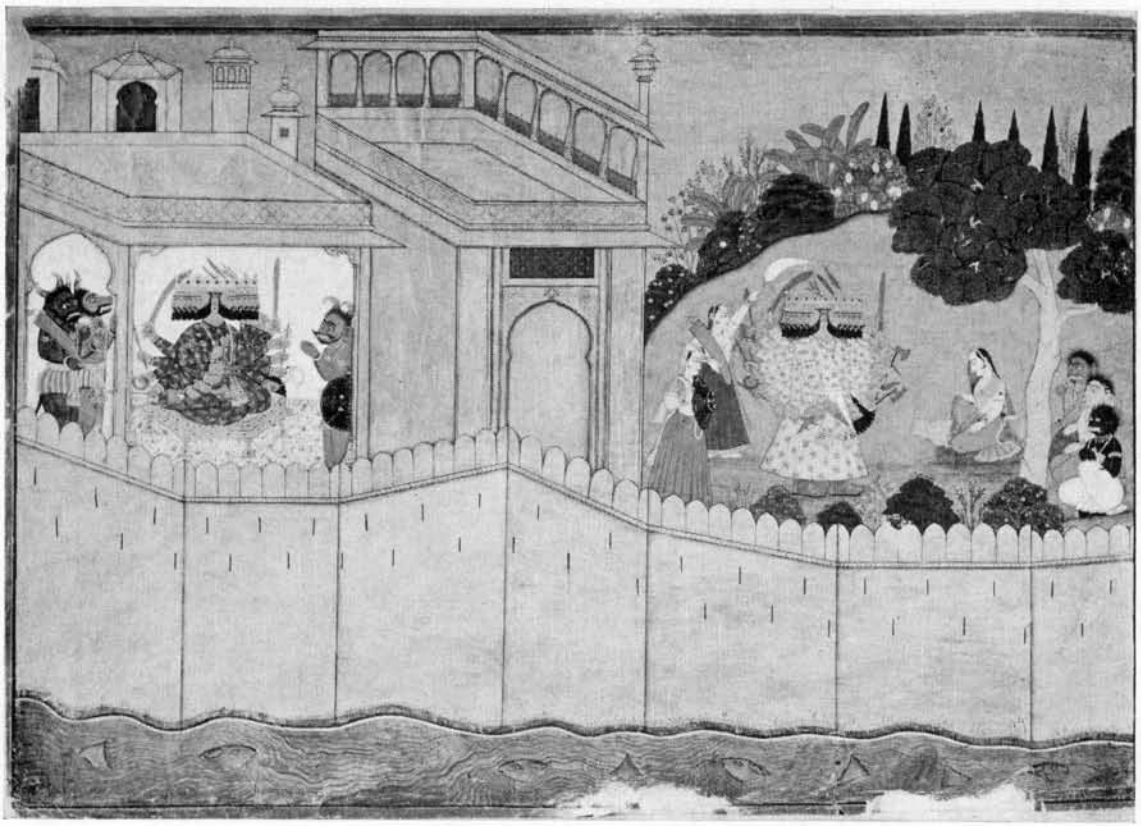
Plate XIV



25. The palace of Laṅkā, Rāvaṇa approaches Sītā in Aśoka garden.

27. Rāvaṇa's army general reports the situation.

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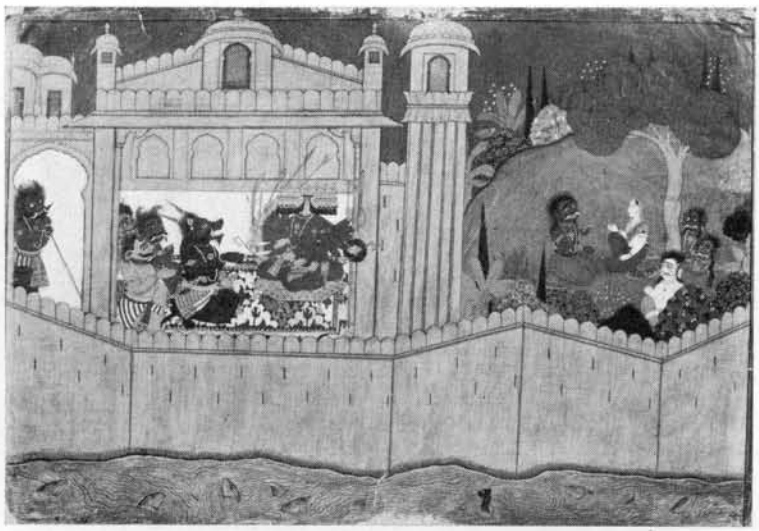
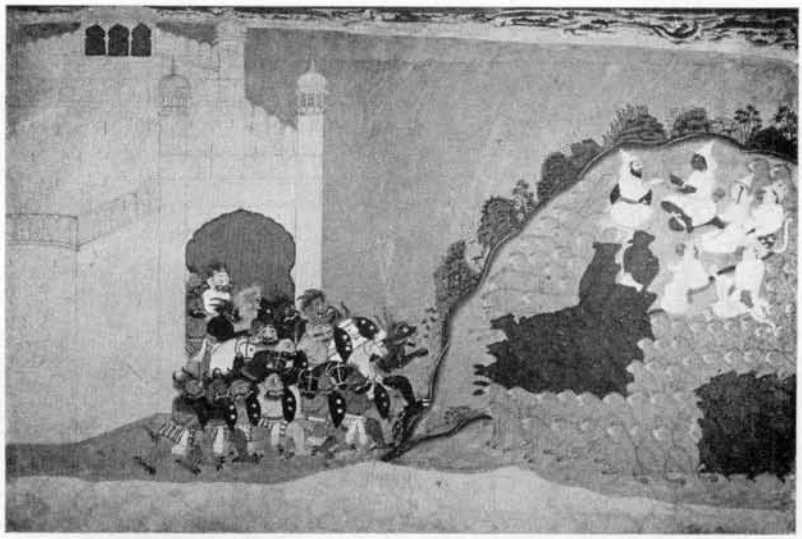
Plate XV



28. Rāvaṇa in a meeting with his army generals.



29. The battle begins and demons storm out of Laṅkā palace.

30. The monkey army roaming around before the battle.

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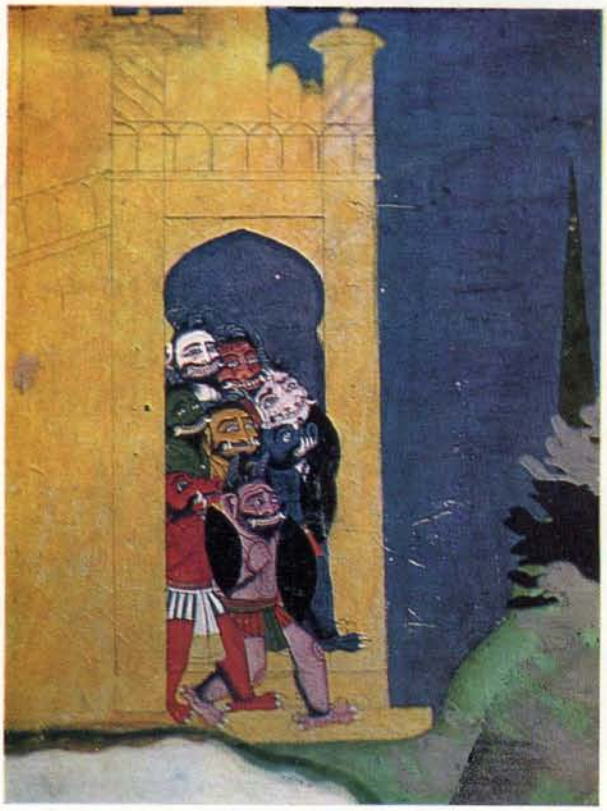
Plate XVI

31. Aṅgada is sent to Rāvaṇa with a message from Rāma.



32. detail of fig. 31 : the demons.

33. detail of fig. 31 :
Aṅgada in meeting with Rāvaṇa.

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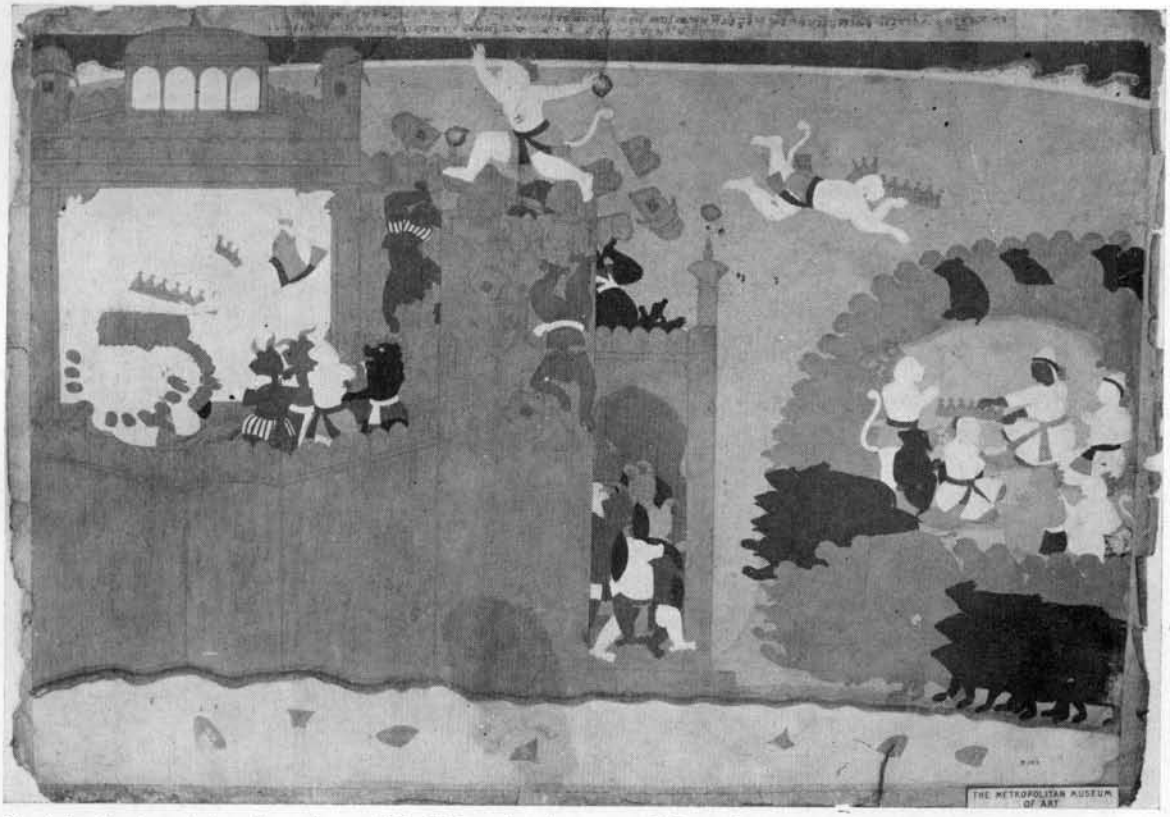
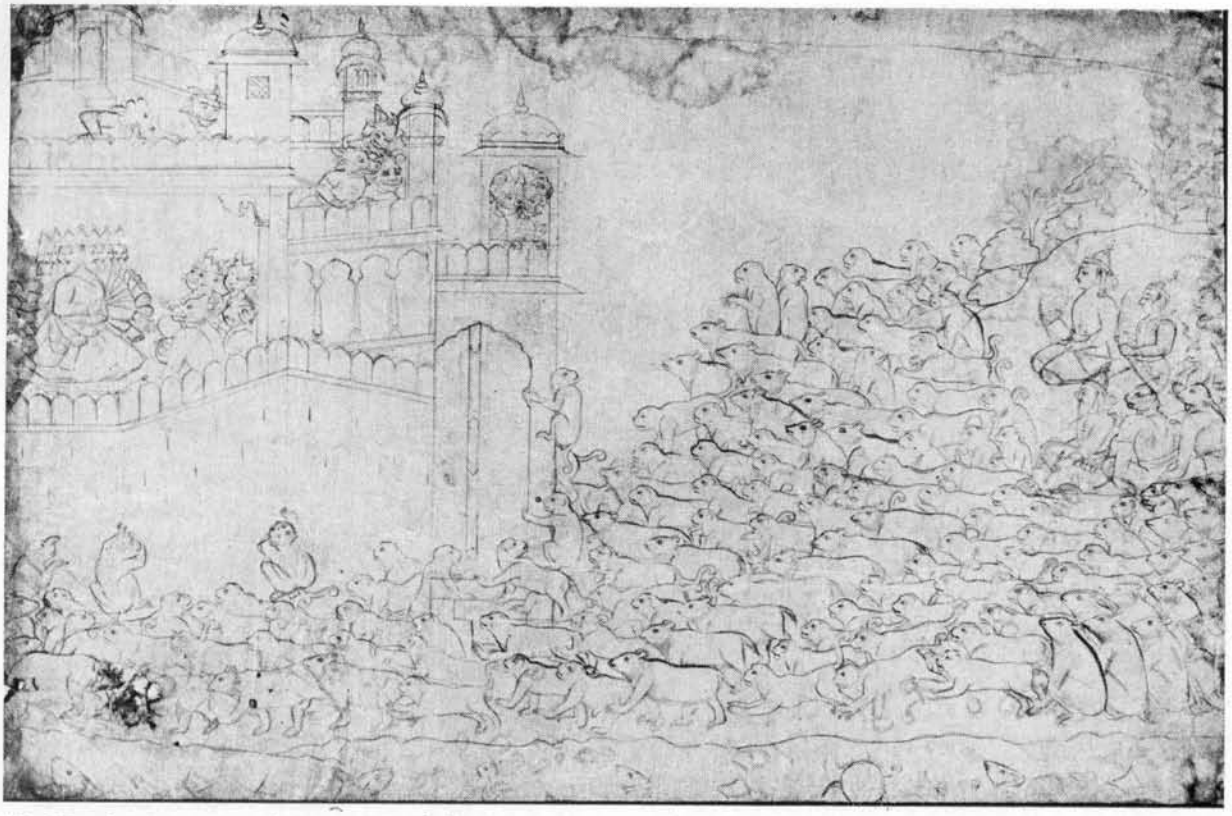
Plate XVII



34. Aṅgada devastates the palace af Laṅkā and takes away Rāvaṇa's crown.



35. Rāma's army proceeds towards Laṅkā.

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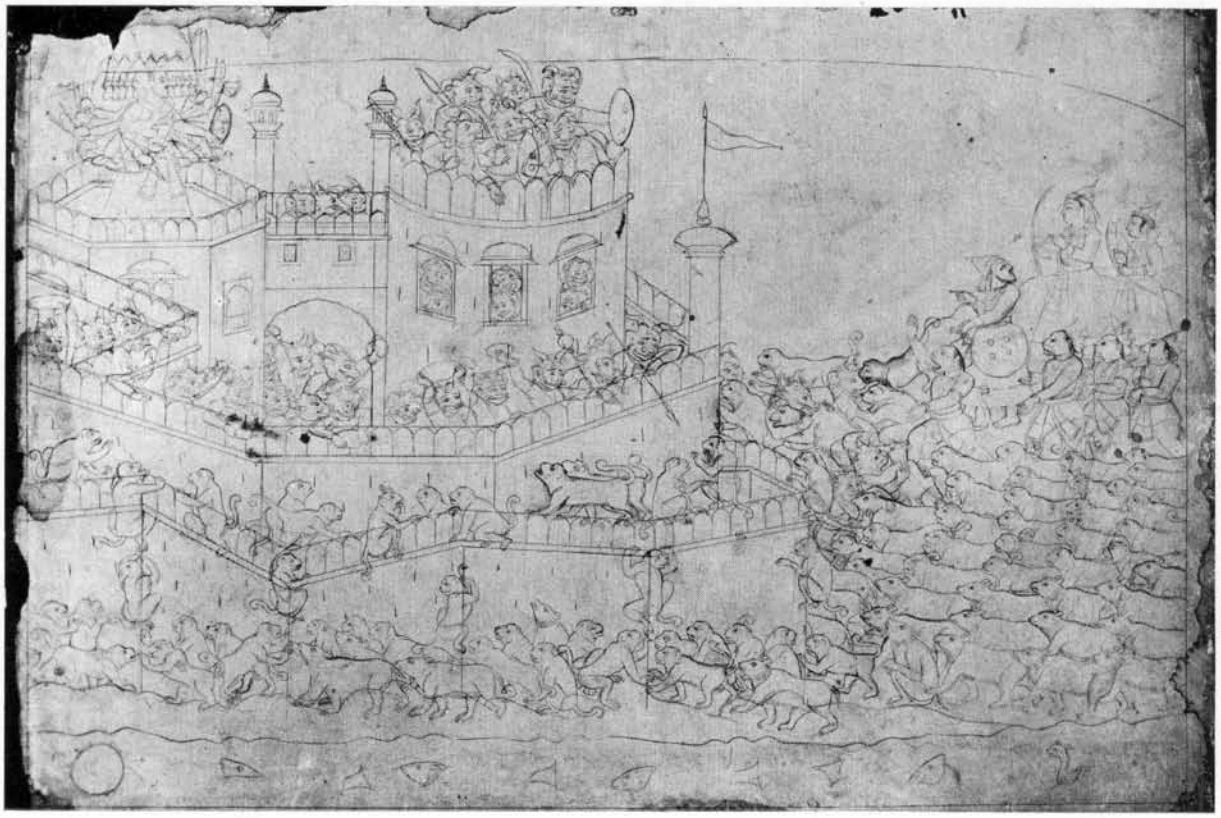
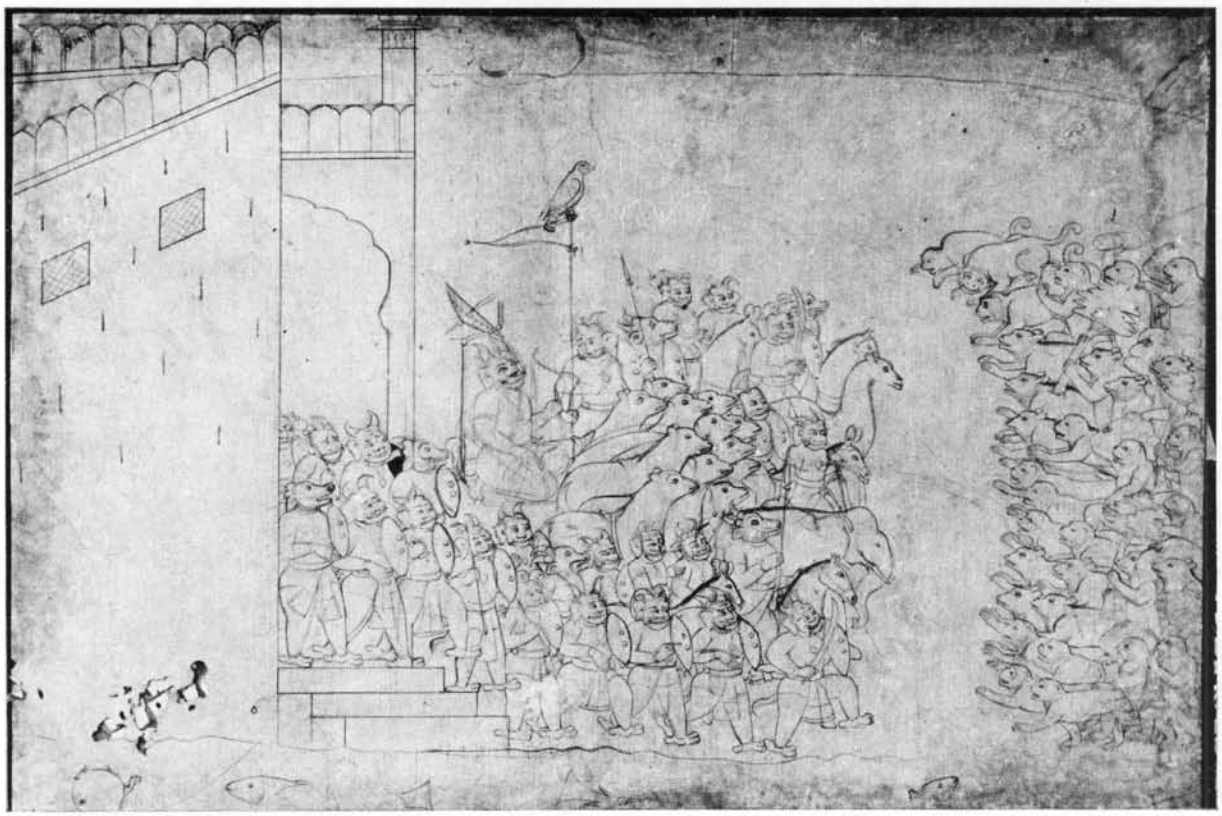
Plate XVIII



36. Rāma gives sign to start the battle.



37. Both armies opposite each other.

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Plate XIX

38. The fight in its full vehemence.

39. Duels between heroes of the monkey- and demon-army.

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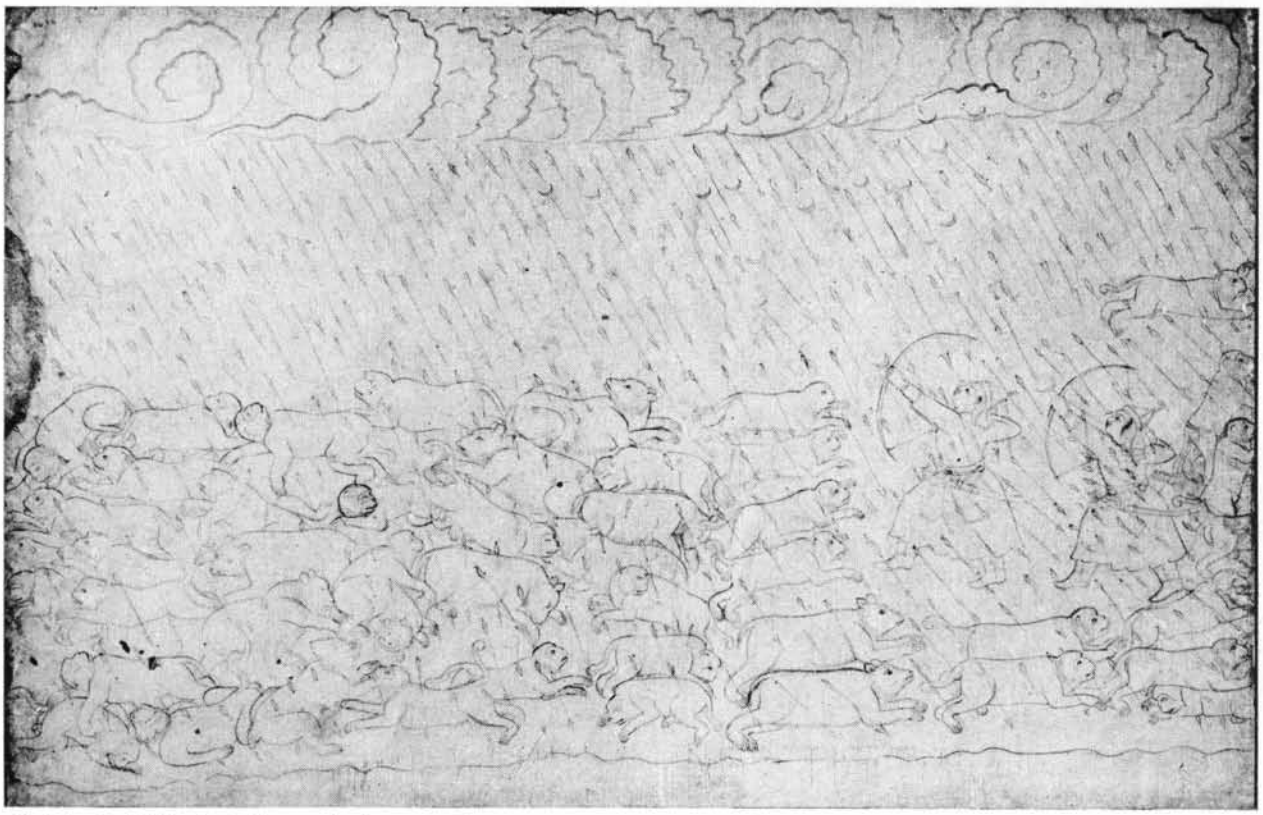
Plate XX

40. Aṅgada fights Indrajit, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa the demons.



41. The invisible Indrajit sends showers af arrows.

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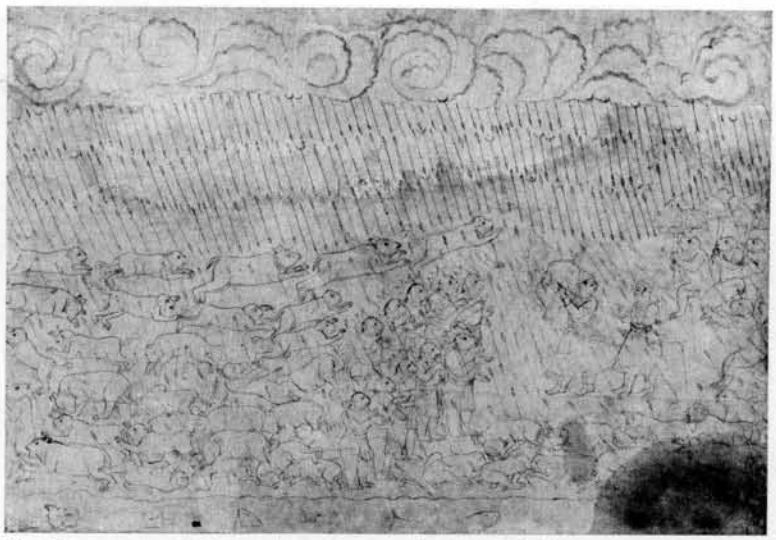
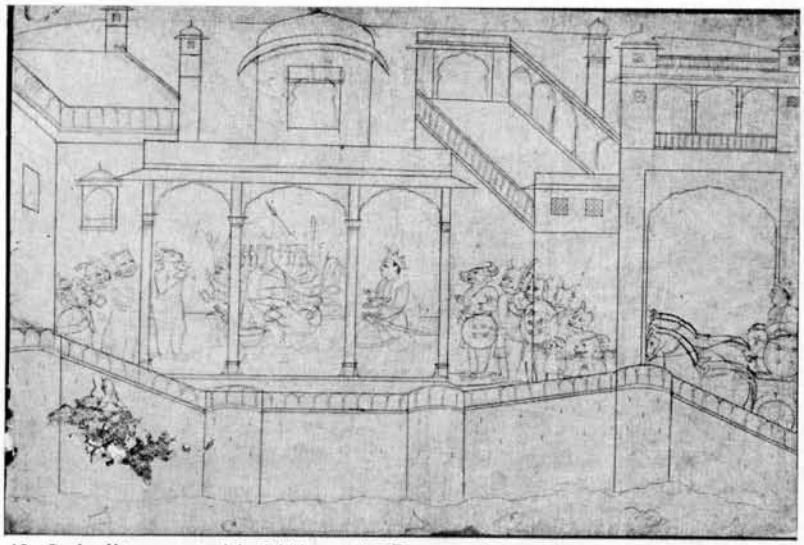
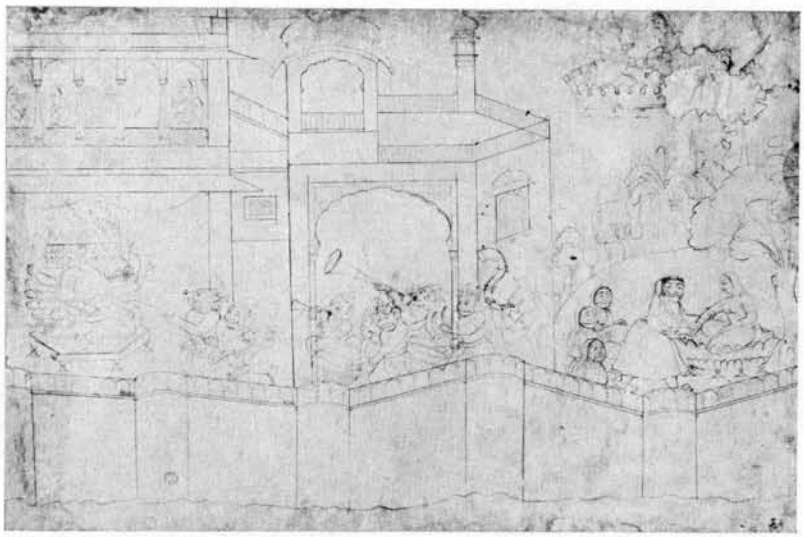
Plate XXI



42. Rāma selects 10 monkeys to search for Indrajit.



43. Indrajit reports his killing of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa to Rāvaṇa.



44. Sītā is sent to see her dead husband at the battlefield.

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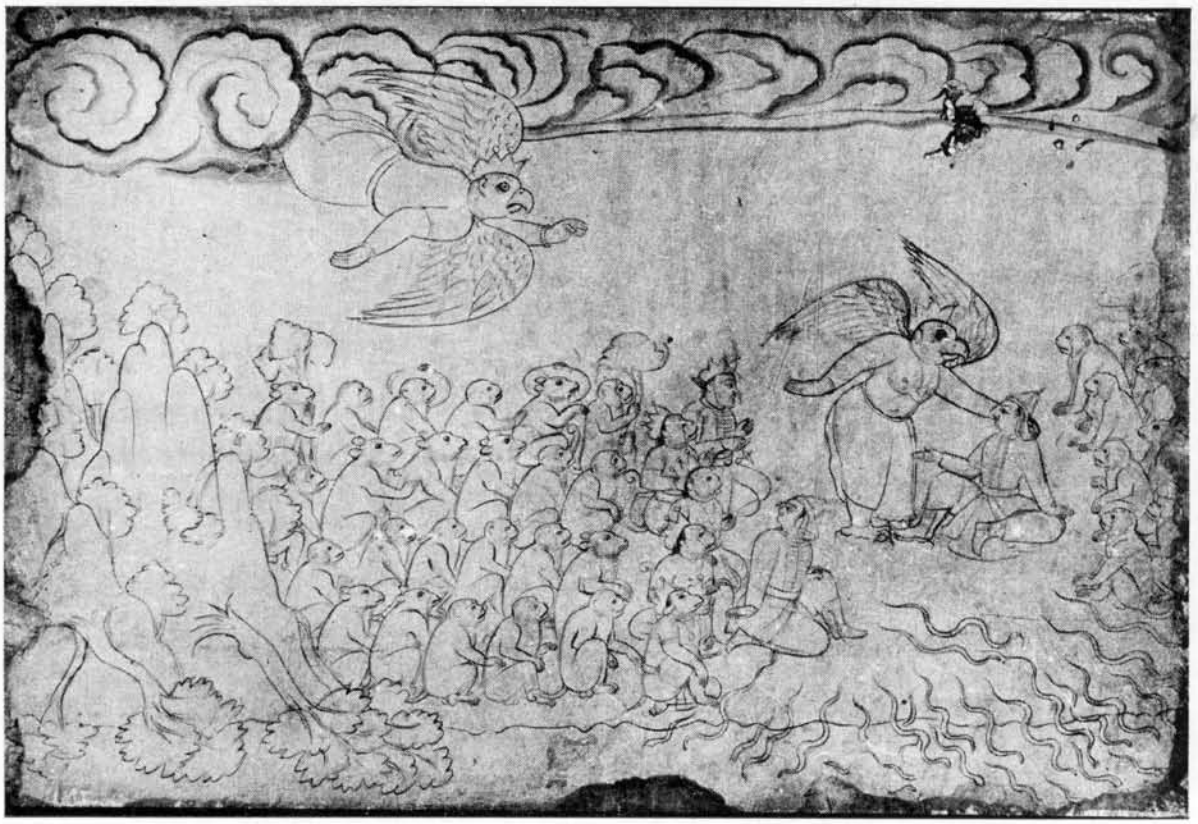
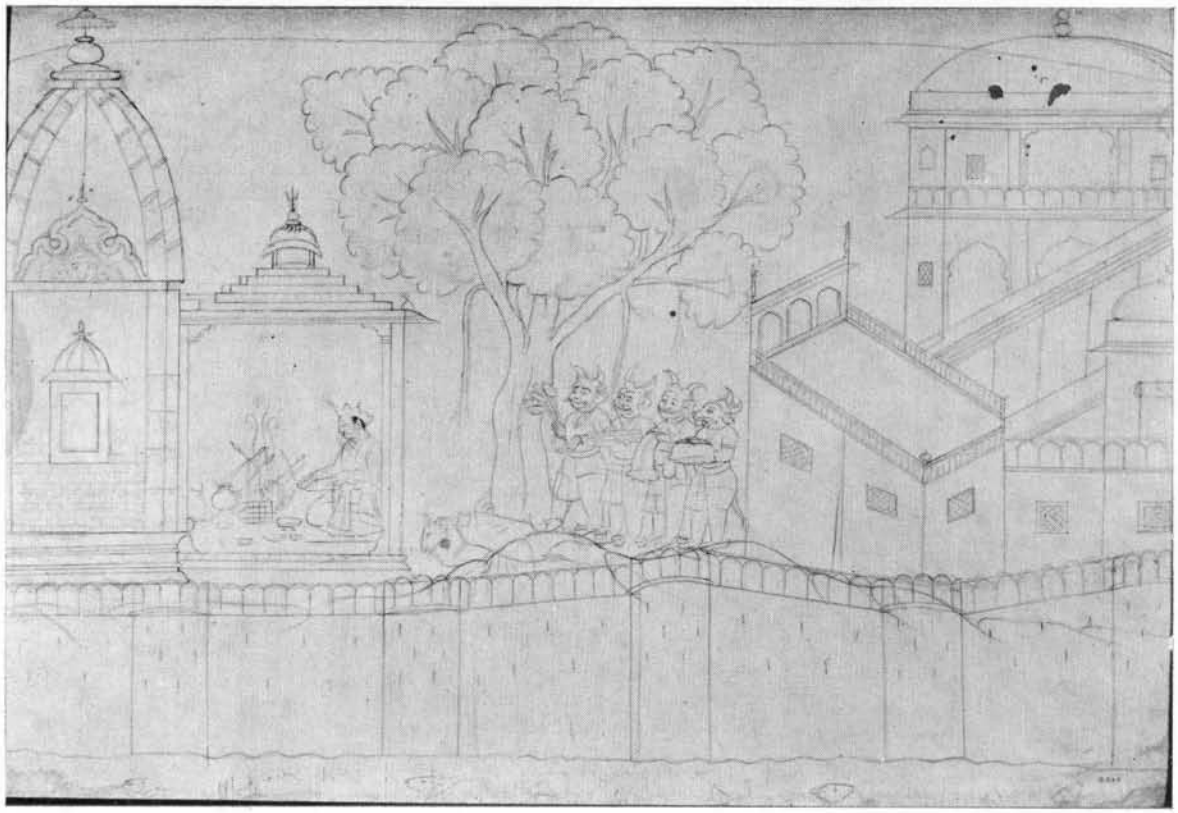
Plate XXII



45. Garuḍa appears on the battlefield.



46. Indrajit makes an offering.

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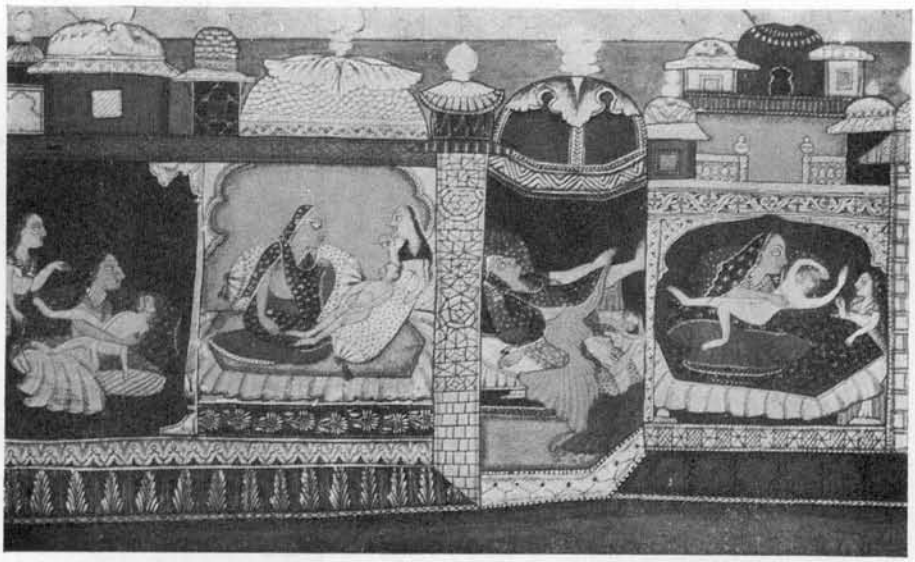
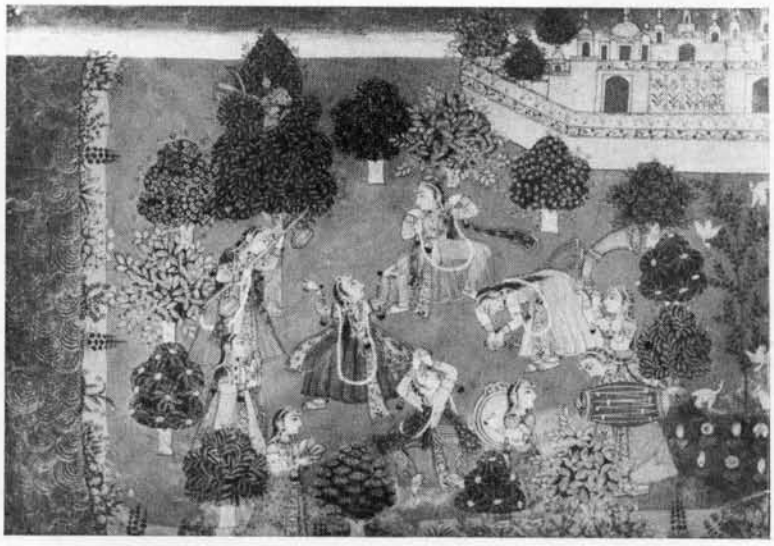
Plate XXIII



47. Birth of the monkey-heroes.

48. Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Hanumān fighting a demon.



49. Hanumān in Laṅkā hiding in a tree to observe dancing girls.

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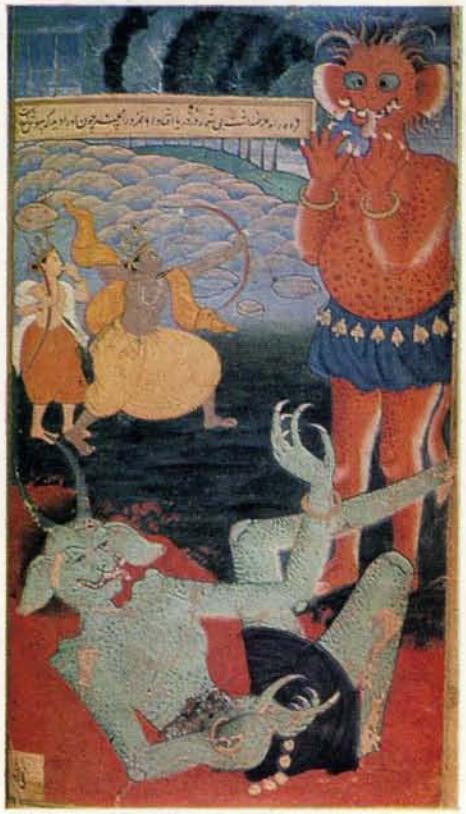
Plate XXIV

50. King Daśaratha in his palace of Ayodhyā.



51. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa fighting demons.

52. Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Vibhiṣaṇa in conference with monkey-leaders.

53. Sītā in Aśoka grove of Laṇkā palace guarded by demons.

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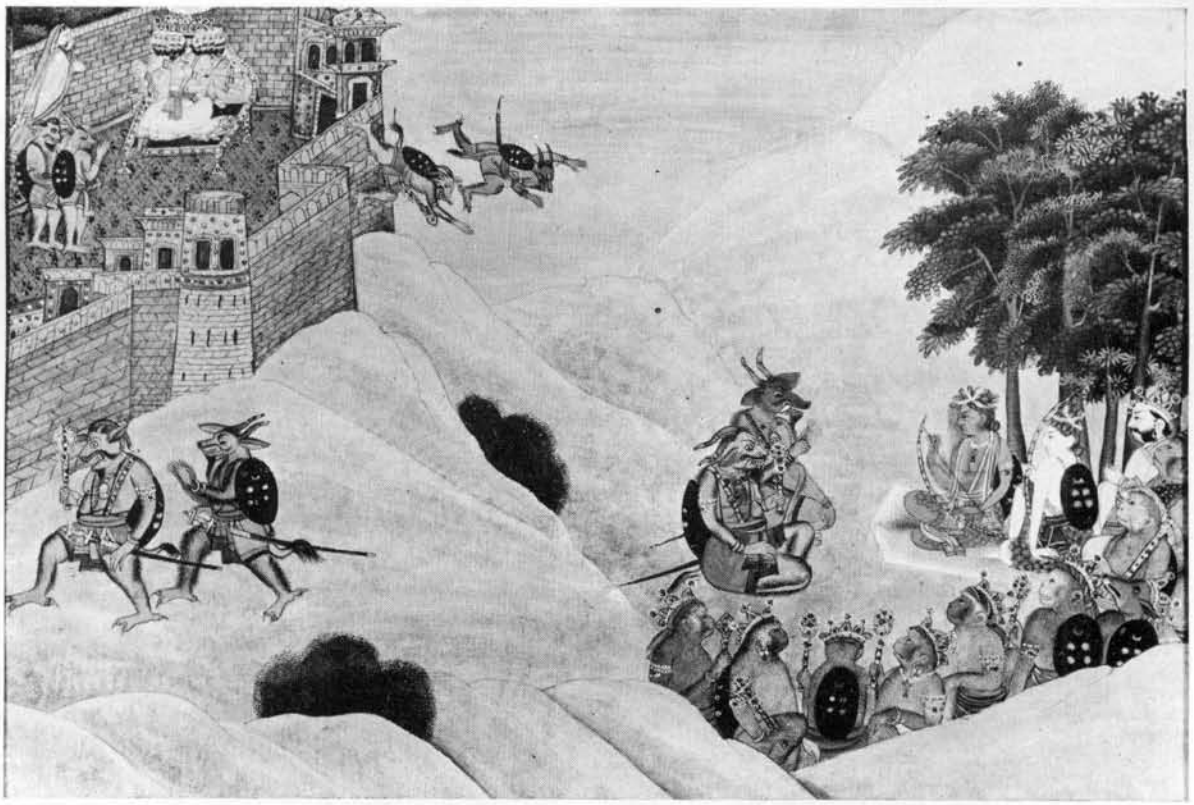
Plate XXV



54. Rāvaṇa sends out two spies to Rāma's army.

55. Rāvaṇa is slain.

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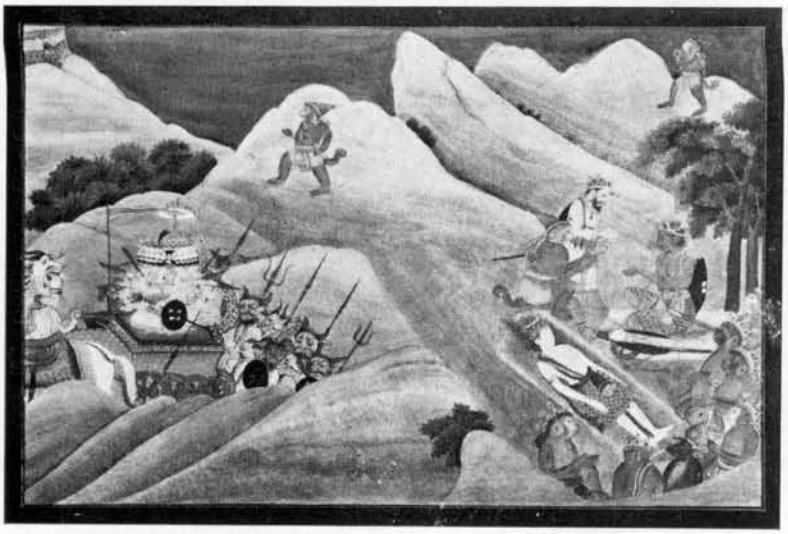
Plate XXVI



56. Hanumān brings the required herbs for Lakṣmaṇa.

57. Hanumān brings the physician Suṣeṇa back.

58. The battle between monkeys and demons.

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Plate XXVII

59. Sītā is fetched from Laṅkā.

60. Sītā's fire ordeal.

61. Rāma and his company flying back to Ayodhyā.

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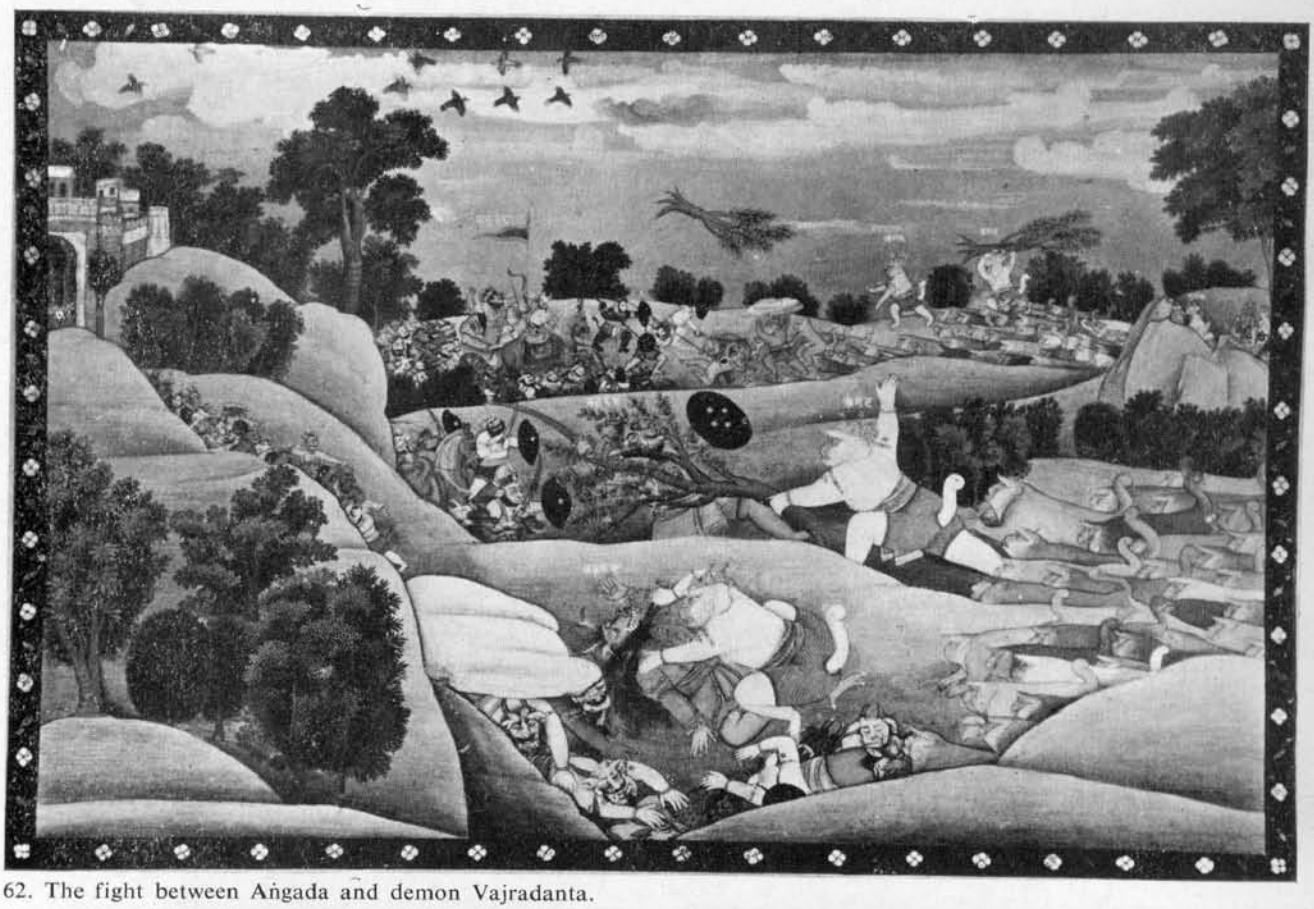
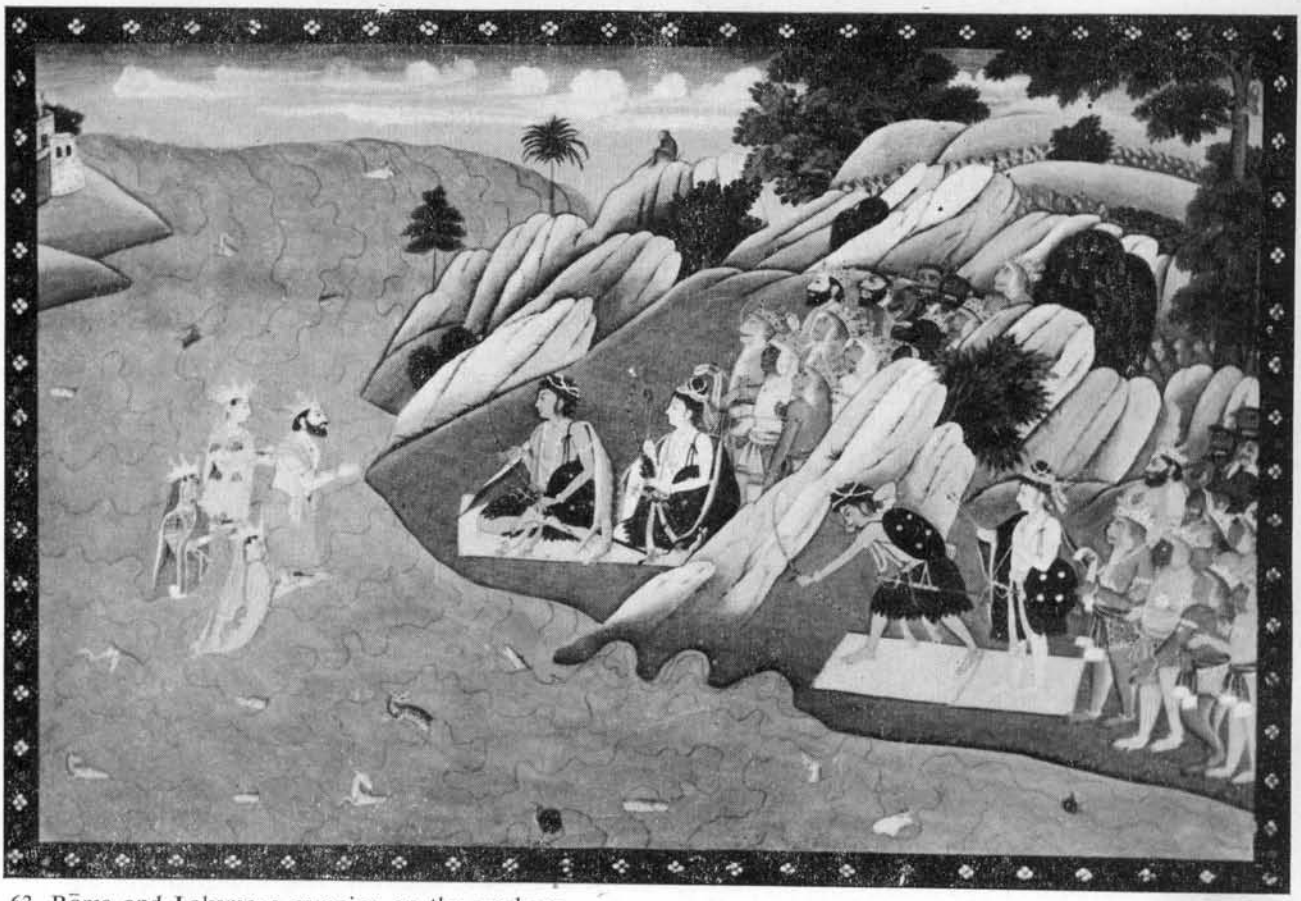
Plate XXVIII



62. The fight between Aṅgada and demon Vajradanta.



63. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa camping on the seashore.

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